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THE  
HISTORY

OF

*Anna Maria Hall*

*The History*  
BRITAIN.

*March 20 1839.*

*That part especially now call'd*

ENGLAND.

*From the first Traditional Beginning, continu'd to the*  
NORMAN CONQUEST.

*Collected out of the antientest and best Authours*  
*thereof by*

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JOHN MILTON.

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BOOK I.

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**T**He beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom sacred Books have spok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscur'd and blemisht with Fables. Whether it were that the use of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themselves at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and dege-

degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; wherby the monuments of more ancient civility have bin som destroy'd, som lost. Perhaps dis-esteem and contempt of the public affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise men, and of best abilitie have forborn to write the Acts of thir own daies, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how pervers, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all History the persons and thir actions were; who either by fortune, or som rude election had attain'd as a sore judgment, and ignominie upon the Land, to have cheif sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any law, or superstition of our old Philosophers the *Druids* forbad the *Britains* to write thir memorable deeds, I know not why any out of *Cesar* should allege: he indeed saith, that thir doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most matters else, both privat, and public, among which well may History be reckon'd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: and that the *British Druids* who taught those in *Gaul* would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by thir Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. What ever might be the reason, this we find, that of *British affairs*, from the first peopling of the Island to the coming of *Julius Cesar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or Ancient Fame hath hitherto bin left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a modern Fable.

*Ces. l. 6.*

## Book I. *The History of England.*

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Nevertheless there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, men not unread, nor unlerned in Antiquitie, who admitt that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction, and seeing that oft-times relations heertofore accounted fabulous have bin after found to contain in them many foot-steps, and reliques of somthing true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little believ'd, till undoubted witnesss taught us, that all was not fain'd; I have therfore determin'd to bestow the telling over ev'n of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know, how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce example, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livie* and others of the *Latines*, *Folydore* and *Virunnus* accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of History; much less to argue and debate long who were the first Inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath bin upheld, but shall endeavor that which hitherto hath bin needed most, with plain, and lightsom brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the *British Nation*, I now begin.

That the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmost point of habitable ground, from those effectual words of *God* in the Creation, may be more then conjectur'd. Hence that this Iland also had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her stories, ev'n in that old World those many hun-



derd years, with much reason we may inerr. After the Flood, and the dispersing of Nations, as they journey'd leasurely from the East, *Gomer* the eldest Son of *Japhet*, and his off-spring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinitie of divers names is generally beleev'd, were the first that peopl'd all these West and Northren Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had don nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this Iland, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfet Authors a certain *Samoths* or *Dis*, a fowrth or sixt Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies; first the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaul*; and next *this Iland*; Thence to have nam'd it *Samoths*; to have reign'd heer, and after him lineally fowr Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the forg'd *Berosus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either hee, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into *Britain*, or send thir people hither. So that this outlandish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room heer so much as of a *British* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, that these *Samoths* under the Reign of *Bardus* were subdu'd by *Albion* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*: who call'd the Iland after his own name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length passing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Lestrygon*, against whom *Hercules* was halting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there slain in fight, and *Bergion* also his Brother.

Sure enough we are, that *Britan* hath bin anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a stonie shoar in *Languedoc*, where by report such a Battel was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond invention that wasted hither the fifty daughters of a strange *Dioclesian King of Syria*; brought in doubtles by som illiterat pretender to somthing mistak'n in the Common Poetical Story of *Danaus King of Argos*, while his vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure beginning which truest Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These Daughters by appointment of *Danaus* on the marriage-night having murder'd all thir Husbonds, except *Linceus*, whom his Wives loialty sav'd, were by him at the suit of his Wife thir Sister, not put to death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate: and as the Tale goes; were driv'n on *this Island*. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as som write, or as others, a lawless crew left heer by *Albion* without Head or Governour; both entertain'd them, and had issue by them a second breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd *the Ile*, till *Brutus* came.

The Eldest of these Dames in thir Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which cause the whole scene was fram'd, will have the name *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may seem so fluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the Elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have liv'd above a thousand years agoe. This I find not in him; but that *Histon* Holinshed. sprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons; *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britans*; as true, I beleeeve, as that those other Nations whose names

are resembl'd, came of the other three; if these Dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the Book it self, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have giv'n us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Caesar*, we cannot so easily be discharg'd; Descents of Ancestry, long continu'd, laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common beleif have wrought no small impressiō : defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yeelded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from some noble Ancestor were content at first with *Brutus* the Consul; till better invention, although not willing to forgoe the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous Age, by the same remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales in affectation to make the *Britan* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn names of successive Kings, never any to have bin real persons, or don in thir lives at least some part of what so long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mention'd, that which hath receav'd approbation from so many, I have chos'n not to omitt. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps alooff from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient Writers from Books more ancient I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of Story. The principal Author is well know'n to be *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his authority, who in his age or before him have deliver'd the same



matter, and such like general discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselves. All of them agree in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*; he of *Ascanius*; whose Father was *Aeneas* a Trojan Prince, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Ascanius*, and a collected number that escap'd, after long wandering on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*. Where at length by the assistance of *Latinus* King of *Latium*, who had giv'n him his Daughter *Lavinia*, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Ascanius*, whose Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Histories deny *Silvius* to be Son of *Ascanius*) had married secretly a Niece of *Lavinia*.

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Huntingdon. 1187  
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She being with Child, the matter became known to *Ascanius*. Who commanding his *Magicians* to enquire by Art, what sex the Maid had conceiv'd, had answer, that it was one who should be the death of both his Parents; and banish'd for the fact, should after all in a farr Country attain to highest honour. The prediction fail'd not, for in travel the Mother di'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was so call'd) at fifteen years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Banish'd therefore by his kindred he retires into *Greece*. Where meeting with the race of *Helenus* King *Priams* Son, held there in servile condition by *Pandrasus* then King, with them he abides. For *Pirrhus* in revenge of his Father slain at *Troy* had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others into servitude. There *Brutus* among his own stock so thrives in vertue and in Arms, as renders him belov'd to Kings, and great Captains above all the Youth of that Land. Whereby the *Trojans* not only beginn to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege their

their numbers, and the promis'd help of *Assaracus* a Noble Greekish Youth, by the Mothers side a *Trojan*; whom for that cause his Brother went about to dispossess of certain Castles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* considering both the Forces offer'd him, and the strength of those Holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore having fortifi'd those Castles, he with *Assaracus* and the whole multitude betake them to the Woods and Hills; as the safest place from whence to expostulate; and in the name of all sends to *Pandrasus* this Message; *That the Trojans holding it unworthy thir Ancestors to serv in a Foren Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; choosing rather a Savage life then a slavish; If that displeas'd him, that them with his leave they might depart to some other soil.*

As this may pass with good allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in these parts, for *Helenus* was by *Pirrhus* made King of the *Chaonians*, and the Sons of *Pirrhus* by *Andromache* *Hectors* Wife could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, so much the more it may be doubted, how these *Trojans* could be thus in bondage, where they had Freinds and Country-men so Potent. But to examin these things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britan* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this Island, is equally under Question. Bee't how it will, *Pandrasus* not expecting so bold a message from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army. And marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call'd *sparatinum*, (I know not what Towne, but certaine of no Greek name) over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with

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slaughter of the *Greeks* pursues him to the passage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*: where at the Ford he overlaies them afresh. This victory obtain'd, and a sufficient strength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the Kings Brother and his Freind *Anacletus*, whom he had tak'n in the fight, returns to the residue of his freinds in the thick Woods. While *Pandrasus* with all speed recollecting, beseiges the Town. *Brutus* to releive his men beseig'd, who earnestly call'd him, distrusting the sufficiency of his force, bethinks himself of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatning instant death else, both to him and his freind *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he should goe at the second howr of night to the Greekish Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by stealth out of Prison to a certain woody Vale; unable through the waight of his Fetters to move further: entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus* to save both himself and his freind *Antigonus*, swears this; and at fit howr setts on alone toward the Camp: is mett, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him: and they now fully assur'd, with a credulous rashness leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the Camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron possess'd of the Kings Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the beseiged also now sally-

ing forth, on the other side assaile. *Brutus* the while had special care to seise and secure the *Kings Person*; whose life still within his Custody, he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there distributes the *Kings Treasury*, and leaving the place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Prisoner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave men he summons to Counsell, what they should now demand of the *King*.

After long debate *Mempricius*, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in *Greece*, unless they meant to be deluded with a suttle peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose freinds they had slain, advises them to demand first the *Kings Eldest Daughter Innogen* in mariage to thir Leader *Brutus*, with a rich dowry, next shipping, monny, and sitt provision for them all to depart the Land.

This resolution pleasing best, the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is breisfly told, that on these conditions granted, he might be free, not granted, he must prepare to die.

Prest with fear of death the *King* readily yeelds: especially to bestow his Daughter on whom he confess'd so Noble and so Valiant: offers them also the third part of his Kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be thir Hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The Mariage therefore solemniz'd, and shipping from all parts got together, the *Trojans* in a Fleet, no less writt'n then three hunderd fowr and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a prosperous course two daies and a night bring them on a certain Island long before dispeopl'd and left wast by Sea-Roavers; the name wherof was then *Leagecia*, now unknow'n. They who were sent out to disco-

ver, came at length to a ruin'd City ; where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: but not meeting first or last save wild Beasts, they return with this notice to thir Ships : Wishing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what voiage to pursue.

Consultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelv of the ancientest, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward shrine of the Goddess, in Verse, as it seems the manner was, utters his request, *Diva potens nemorum, &c.*

*Goddess of Shades, and Huntress, who at will  
Walk'st on the rowling Sphear, and through the deep,  
On thy third Reigne the Earth look now, and tell  
What Land, what Seat of rest thou bidst me seek,  
What certain Seat, where I may worship thee  
For age, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.*

To whom sleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Vision that night thus answer'd, *Brute sub occasum solis, &c.*

*Brutus far to the West, in th' Ocean wide  
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies,  
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,  
Now void, it fits thy people ; thither bend  
Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat,  
There to thy Sons another Troy shall rise,  
And Kings be born of thee, whose dredded might  
Shall awe the World, and Conquer Nations bold.*

These Verses Originally Greek, were put in Latin, saith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a British Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true,

adds much to the Antiquitie of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verses are much better, then for the Age of *Geoffrey ap-Arthur*, unless perhaps *Joseph of Exeter*, the only smooth Poet of those times, befriended him; in this *Diana* overshot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipsis totius Terræ subditus orbis erit*, That to the race of *Brute* Kings of this Iland, the whole Earth shall be subject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by divine conduct, speeds him towards the West; and after som encounters on the *Afric* side, arrives at a place on the *Tyrrhen* Sea; where he happ'ns to find the Race of those *Trojans* who with *Antenor* came into *Italy*; and *Corineus* a man much fam'd, was thir Cheif: though by surer Authors it be reported, that those *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were seated on the other side of *Italie*, on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhen* shoar. But these joyning Company, and past the *Herculean Pillars*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* cast Anchor, Where after som discovery made of the place, *Corineus* Hunting nigh the shoar with his Men, is by Messengers of the King *Goffarius Picus* mett, and question'd about his Errand there. Who not answering to thir mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, slaies him: and the *Pictavian* himself heerupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus*, and *Corineus*; who with the Battell Ax which he was wont to manage against the *Tyrrhen Giants* is said to have done marvellis. But *Goffarius* having draw'n to his aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by twelve Kings, puts his Fortune to a second Trial, Wherin the *Trojans* over-born by multitude, are driv'n back, and beseig'd in thir own Camp, which by good foresight

was strongly situate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly issuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whose device it was, assaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had convayd his men the night before : The *Trojans* are again Victors , but with the loss of *Turon* a Valiant Nefew of *Brutus* ; whose Ashes left in that place, gave name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his powers much lessn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leavs *Aquitain*, and with an easie course, arriving at *Totness* in *Dev'nshire*, quickly perceivs heer to be the promis'd end of his labours.

The Island not yet *Britain* but *Albion*, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of *Giants*; whose excessive Force and Tyranie had consum'd the rest. Them *Brutus* destroies, and to his people divides the Land, which with som reference to his own name he thenceforth calls *Britain*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwal*, as now we call it, fell by Lot ; the rather by him lik't, for that the hugest Giants, in Rocks and Caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of Monsters to deal with was his old exercise.

And heer, with leave be-spok'n to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our best Poets; while *Brutus* on a certain Festival day solemnly kept on that shoar, where he first landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these Savages breaking in upon them, began on the suddain another sort of Game then at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goëmagog* the hugest, in high twelv Cubits, is reserv'd alive; that with him *Corineus*, who desir'd nothing more, might try his strength; Whom in a Wrestle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three

of his Ribs : nevertheless *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all shatter'd into the Sea, and left his name on the Cliff, call'd ever since *Langoëmagog*, which is to say, the Giants leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a chosen place builds *Troia nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London* : and began to enact Laws; *Heli* beeing then high Preist in *Judea* : and having govern'd the whole Ile 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber* divide the Land by consent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loëgria*; *Camber* possess'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact* *Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber* King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in fight, and his people driv'n back into *Loëgria*. *Locrine* and his Brother goe out against *Humber* ; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Estrildis*, above the rest, passing fair ; the Daughter of a King in *Germany* ; from whence *Humber*, as he went waisting the Sea-Coast, had led her Captive : whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, resolv'd to marry. But beeing forc'd and threatn'd by *Corineus*, whose Authority, and power he fear'd, *Guendolen* the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in secret loves the other : and oft-times retiring as to som privat Sacrifice, through Vaults and passages made under ground ; and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whose name was *Sabra*. But when once his fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not



content with secret enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he makes *Estrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in rage departs into *Cornwall*; where *Madan*, the Son she had by *Locrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corinens* his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Fathers Freinds and Subjects, gives Battail to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherin *Locrine* shot with an Arrow ends his life. But not so ends the fury of *Guendolen*; for *Estrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra*, she throws into a River: and to leave a Monument of revenge, proclaims, that the stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damsels name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years she governs in behalf of her Son; then resigning to him at Age, retires to her Fathers Dominion. This saith my Author, was in the daies of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the praise to have well and peacefully rul'd the space of 40 years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius*, and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had first to doe with the ambition of his Brother, aspiring to share with him in the Kingdom; whom therefore at a meeting to compose matters, with a treachery which his cause needed not, he slew.

Nor was he better in the sole possession, wherof so ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly giv'n over to unnaturall lust, in the twentieth of his Reigne, hunting in a Forest, he was devowr'd by Wolves.

His Son *Ebranc* a man of mighty strength and stature, Reign'd 40 Years. He first after *Brutus* wasted *Gaul*; and returning rich and prosperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *Tork*; in *Albania Alclud*, *Mount Agned*,

*Agnes*, or the *Castle of Maydens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he sent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who bestow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan Line*. His Sons under the leading of *Affracus* thir Brother, won them Lands and Signories in *Germany*; thence call'd, from these Brethren *Germania*: a derivation too hastily suppos'd, perhaps before the word *Germanus* or the Latin Tongue was in use. Som who have describ'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Leffabeus*, are cited to affirm that *Ebranc* in his Warre there, was by *Brunchildis* Lord of *Henault* put to the worse.

*Brutus* therefore surnamed *Greenshield* succeeding, to repair his Fathers losses, as the same *Leffabeus* reports, fought a second Battail in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the mouth of *Scaldis*, and Encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which our *Spencer* also thus Sings.

*Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,*

*And let the Marsh of Elsthambruges tell.*

*What colour were thir Waters that same day,*

*And all the Moar twixt Elversham and Dell,*

*With blood of Henalois which therin fell;*

*How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see*

*The Greenshield dy'd in dolorous Vermeil, &c.*

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenesheild*, seeme newer names then for a Story pretended thus Antient.

Him succeeded *Leil*, a maintainer of Peace and Equity; but slackn'd in his latter end, whence arose som civil discord. He built in the North *Cairleil*; and in the daies of *Solomon*.

*Rudbuddibras*, or *Hudibras* appeasing the commotions which his Father could not, fownded *Caerkegnt* or *Canterbury*, *Caerguent*, or *Winchester*, and *Mount Paladur*,

*Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: but this by others is contradicted.

*Bladud* his Son built *Caerbadus* or *Bathe*, and those medcinable Waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whose Temple there he kept fire continually burning. Hewas a man of great invention, and taught Necromancie: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and so dy'd after twenty years Reigne.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line hath run on: but *Leir* who next Reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue: govern'd laudably, and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leicestre*, on the Bank of *Sora*. But at last, failing through Age, he determines to bestow his Daughters, and so among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying behoov'd him) *he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to beleev.* *Gonorill* th' Eldest apprehending too well her Fathers weakness, makes answer invoking Heav'n, *That she lov'd him above her Soul.* Therefore, quoth the old man overjoy'd, *since thou so honourst my declin'd Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my Realm.* So fair a speeding for a few words soon utter'd, was to *Regan* the second, ample instruction what to say. She on the same demand spares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that *she lov'd him above all Creatures*; and so receavs an equal reward with her Sister. But *Cordelia* the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the

rich and present hire of a little easie soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and vertuous answer. *Father, saith she, my love towards you, is as my duty bids; what should a Father seek, what can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter.* When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking, with a loiall sadness at her Fathers infirmity, but something on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, then speaking her own mind, *Two waies only, saith she, I have to answer what you require mee; the former, Your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left mee; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you. Then hear thou, quoth Leir now all in passion, what thy ingratitude hath gain'd thee; because thou hast not reverenc'd thy aged Father equall to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine reck'n to have none.* And without delay gives in marriage his other Daughters, *Gonorill to Maglaunus Duke of Albania, Regan to Henni-nus Duke of Cornwall;* with them in present half his Kingdom; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the wisdom, and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, inso-much that *Aganippus a great King in Gaul* (however he came by his Greek name) seeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loss of her Dowry, receavrs her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this *King Leir*, more and more drooping with Years, became an easy prey to his Daughters and thir Husbands; who now by dayly encroachment had seisd the whole Kingdom into thir hands: and the

old King is put to sojourn with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by threescore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continuall Guests, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter : but there also discord soon arising between the Servants of differing Masters in one Family, five only are suffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his Eldest could not but have more pity on his Gray Hairs : but she now refuses to admitt him, unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest *Cordeilla* comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had so injur'd, be it but to pay her the last recompence she can have from him, his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his misery, the prooff and experiment of her Wisdom, might somthing soft'n her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or down-right spok'n affection of som Children to thir Parents, and the talkative obsequiousness of others; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges thir duty. *Cordeilla* out of meer love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the message only of her Father in distress, powrs forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his Messenger declar'd, discreetly appoints one of her trusted Servants, first to convey him privately toward som good Sea Town, there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, furnish him with such Attendance and State, as

beseemd his Dignity. That then, as from his first Landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which don with all mature, and requisite contrivance, *Cordelia* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then first had news of his passing the Sea, goe out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyfull entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wives Father, and his Royall Guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the power, and disposal of his whole Dominion: permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and set her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her piety so prosper'd, as that she vanquish'd her impious Sisters with those Dukes, and *Leir* again, as saith the story, three years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leicestre*. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, rul'd the Land five years in Peace. Untill *Marganus* and *Cunedagius* her two Sisters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern'd by a Woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to suffer, she there, as is related, killd her self. The Victors between them part the Land: but *Marganus* the Eldest Sisters Son, who held by agreement from the North-side of *Humber* to *Cathness*, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own right, warres on *Cunedagius*; who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.

*Cunedagius* was now sole King, and govern'd with much

## Book I. *The History of England.*

21

much praise many years ; about the time when *Rome* was built.

Him succeeded *Rivallo* his Son, wife also and fortunat ; save what they tell us of three daies raining blood, and swarmes of stinging Flies, whereof men dy'd. In order then *Gurgustius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nefew ; *Sisillius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex*, and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of thir Father falling to contend who should succeed, *Porrex* attempting by treachery his Brothers life, drives him into *France* ; and in his return, though aided with the force of that Country, defeats and slaies him. But by his Mother *Videna* who less lov'd him, is himself, with the assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*. Whereupon, the whole Land with civil broils was rent into five Kingdoms, long time waging Warr each on other ; and som say 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius* the Son of *Cloten King of Cornwall*, one of the foresaid five, excelling in valour, and goodliness of person, after his Fathers decease found means to reduce again the whole Iland into a Monarchy : subduing the rest at opportunities. First *Tmner King of Loegria* whom he slew ; then *Rudaucus of Cambria*, *Staterius of Albania*, confederat together. In which fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtfull, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 Stout men, bids them put on the Armour of thir slain Enemies ; and so unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where those two Kings had plac'd themselvs in fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults, and dispatches them. Then displaying his own Ensignes which before he had conceal'd, and sending notice

to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo* was the first in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by some reputed the first King. He established the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the English to this day; writt'n long after in Latine by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred*: so saith *Geofrey*, but *Gildas* denies to have known aught of the *Britans* before *Cesar*; much less knew *Alfred*. These Laws, whoever made them, bestow'd on Temples the privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities also, and the waies thither leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge: and made such rid-dance of Theeves and Robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty Years he Govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the memory of peace restor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons *Belinus* and *Brennus* contending about the Crown, by decision of Freinds came at length to an accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Hamber*, *Belinus* the Sovrantie of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whisper'd to him, whose valour had so oft repell'd the invasions of *Cenlphus* the *Morine* Duke, should now be subject to his Brother, upon new Designe sails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinitie with *Elsing* that King; which *Belinus* perceaving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*; but encounter'd by *Guithlac* the *Danish* King, who laying claim to his Bride, pursu'd him on the Sea, his hast was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: who from the fight by a sudden Tempest, was by the *Danish* King driv'n on *Northumberland*, and brought to



*Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheless recollecting his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battell to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but loosing the day, escapes with one single Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane* upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prise, *Belinus* returns his thoughts to the administering of Justice, and the perfecting of his Fathers Laws; and to explain what High-waies might enjoy the foresaid privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roades to the utmost length and bredth of the Iland; and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the *Romans*. *Bren-Brennus* on the other side solliciting to his aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happ'ns at last on *Seginus Duke of the Allobreges*; where his worth, and comeliness of person wan him the Dukes Daughter and Heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd leave passing with a great Host through the length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britain*. Nor was *Belinus* unprepar'd, and now the Battell ready to joyn, *Conuenna* the Mother of them both all in a fright, throws her self between; and calling earnestly to *Brennus* her Son, whose absence had so long depriv'd her of his sight, after imbracements and teares, assailshim with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against *Belinus*.

Then are hands joyn'd, reconciliation made firm, and Counsel held to turn thir united preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by these two all *Gallia* was overrun, the story tells; and what they did in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if these be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the Roman Authors can best re-

late. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which heer against the stream of History carries up and down these Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, pursuing *Gabinus* and *Porfena*, two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally beleev'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Eritomarus*, whom the Epitomist *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britans*; the name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King, and of the other a Great *Britan*. However *Belinus* after a while returning home, the rest of his daies rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predecessors; building som Cities, of which one was *Caerose* upon *Osea*, since *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top wherof his Ashes are said to have bin laid up in a Golden Urne.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and just, but yet inheriting his Fathers Courage, he subdu'd the *Dacian*, or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute Covnanted to *Belinus* for his enlargement. In his return finding about the *Orkneies* 30 Ships of *Spain*, or *Biscay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also *Bartholinus* wrongfully banish't, as he pleaded, besaught him that som part of his Territory might be assign'd them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Iland to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

*Guitheline* his Son, is also remember'd, as a just and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd so much in wisdom, as to venture upon a new

Institution

Institution of Laws. Which *King Alfred* translating call'd *Marchen Leage*, but more truly thereby is meant, the *Mertian Law*; not translated by *Alfred*, but digested or incorporated with the *West-Saxon*. In the minority of her Son she had the rule, and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not her self, for Laws are Masculin Births, but by the advice of her sagest Counselors; and therein she might doe vertuously, since it befell her to supply the nonage of her Son: else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, then that a Woman should give Laws to Men.

Hir Son *Sisilius* comming to Yeares receay'd the Rule; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother. Then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tanguestela* a Concubine, who is recorded a man of excessive Strength; Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aspect, but immanely Cruell; not sparing in his Anger, Enemy, or Freind, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain *King of the Morines*, or *Picards* invaded *Northumberland*; whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient numbers, chiefly by his own prowess overcame: But dishonour'd his Victory by the cruel usage of his Prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence put all to several Deaths: well fitted to such a bestiall Cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge Monster that from the Irish Sea infested the Coast, and in the Pride of his Strength foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a Brute vastness, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catch't up and devour'd.

*Gorbonian* the Eldest of his five Sons, then whom a Juster man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder

of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due ; to his Gods devout Worship, to men of desert honour and preferment, to the Commons encouragement in thir Labours, and Trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppressions, so that the Land flourish'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong seldom was heard of: his Death was a general loss: he was buried in *Trinovant*.

*Archigallo* the second Brother follow'd not his Example ; but depress'd the ancient Nobility, and by peeling the wealthier sort, stuff'd his Treasury, and took the right way to be depos'd.

*Elidure* the next Brother, surnam'd the Pious, was set up in his place ; a mind so noble, and so moderat, as almost is incredible to have bin ever found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Forest of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his depos'd Brother, wandring in mean condition : who had bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren aides to his Restoremēt : and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten followers, privately return'd to find subsistence among his secret freinds. At the unexpected sight of him, *Elidure* himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms ; and after many dear and sincere welcomings, conveys him to the Citty *Alclud* ; there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himself sick, summons all his Peers as about greatest affairs ; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them willing, or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom after reconciliation made on all sides, he lead to *York* ; and from his own Head, places the Crown on the Head of his Brother.

Who

Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold with the admiration of a deed so Heroic, became a true converted man; rul'd worthily 10 Years; dy'd, and was Buried in *Cærlair*. Thus was a Brother sav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that so often dazzles, and vitiates mortal men, for which, thousands of neereſt blood have destroy'd each other, was in respect of Brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing.

*Elidure* now in his own behalf re-assumes the Government, and did as was worthy such a man to doe. When providence, that so great vertue might want no sort of trial to make it more illustrious, stirs up *Vigenius*, and *Peredure* his youngest Brethren, against him who had deserv'd so nobly of that relation, as left of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they Imprison in the Tower of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whose Death *Peredure* obtaining all, so much the better us'd his power, by how much the worse he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly mis't. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place wherof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he should die first: and *Elidure* after many years Imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the Throne; which at last he enjoy'd long in Peace; finishing the interrupted course of his mild, and just Reign, as full of vertuous deeds, as daies to his end.

After these five Sons of *Morindus*, succeeded also \* *Matthæus* thir Sons in Order. \* *Regin of Gorbonian, Marganus of Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other courses, was after six years depos'd. Then *Idwallo* taught by a neer Example, *viving*

Govern'd soberly. Then *Runno*, then *Geruntius*, He of *Peredure*, this last the Son of *Elidure*. From whose Loyns (for that likely is the durable, and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu'd a long descent of Kings, whose names only for many successions without other memory stand thus register'd, *Catellus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons, *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Elind*, *Eledaucus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oënus*, *Sisillius*, twentie Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermiſſion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himself wearie, as seems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next succeeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Music; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his 20 Predecessors doings.

Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; His Brother *Archimailus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederchius*, *Samulius*, *Penissel*, *Pir*, *Capoirus*, but *Cliuellius*, with the addition of Modest, Wife, and Just.

His Son *Heli* Reign'd 40 Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Cassibelann*, and *Nennius*. This *Heli* seems to be the same whom *Ninnius* in his fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Cassibelan*. *Lud* was he that enlarg'd, and wall'd about *Trinowant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own name *Caer-lud*, or *Luds Town*, now *London*. Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*,

*Gildas*, became matter of great dissention betwixt him, and his Brother *Nennius*; who took it hainously that the name of *Troy* thir ancient Country should be abolish'd for any new one. *Lud* was hardy, and bold in Warr, in Peace a jolly Feaster. He conquer'd many Ilands of the Sea, saith *Huntingdon*, and was buried by the Gate which from thence wee call *L. 1.*

*Ludgate*. His two Sons *Androgeus*, and *Tennantius*, were left unto the tuition of *Cassibelan*; whose bounty, and high demeanor so wraught with the common people, as got him easily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nefews, conferrs freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*, upon *Tennantius*, *Cornwall*: reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself; till the *Romans* for a while circumscrib'd his power. Thus farr, though leaning only on the credit of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and his assertors, I yet for the specify'd causes have thought it not beneath my purpose, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the belef of other person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing, or collating years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things wherof the substance is so much in doubt. *By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travail'd through a Region of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrivs on the Confines, where day-light and truth meet us with a cleer dawn, representing to our view, though at a farr distance, true colours and shapes.* For albeit, *Cæsar*, whose Authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of mis-reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his

Civil

Civil Warrs against *Pompey*, much more, may wee think, in the *British affairs*, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted, yet now in such variety of good Authors, we hardly can miss from one hand or other to be sufficiently inform'd as of things past so long agoe. *But this will better be referr'd to a second discourse.*

*The End of the first Book.*

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**THE**

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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The Second Book.

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I Am now to write of what befell the *Britans* from *fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when first the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somewhat more, collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the civilest, and the wisest of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the actions of that Puissant Citty. For worthy deeds are not often destitute of worthy relaters: as by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gon hand in hand, equalling and honouring

nouring each other in the same Ages. 'Tis true that in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilfull Writers, the indistinct noise of many Battels, and devastations, of many Kingdoms over-run and lost, hath come to our Eares. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the love of rapine hath stirr'd up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wasting and ruining Warrs, which to posterity have left the work of Wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of men and Conquerours. But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of Warr and Dominion, not to destroy but to prevent destruction, to bring in liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he Conquers all things else, he cannot Conquer *Time*, or *Detraction*, wisely conscious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the aid of Eloquence, his freindliest and best supply; by whose immortal Record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the force of Yeares and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over *Envy*, *Death*, and *Time*, also victorious. Therefore when the esteem of Science, and liberal study waxes low in the Common-wealth, wee may presume that also there all civil Vertue, and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were consoled in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of vertue corrupts also and fades; at least resignes her office of relating to illiterat and frivolous Historians; such as the persons themselves both deserv, and are best pleas'd with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining, and

searching stile of an intelligent, and faithfull Writer to the survey of thir unsound exploits, better befriended by obscurity then Fame. As for these, the only Authors we have of *Brittish* matters, while the power of *Rome* reach'd hither, (for *Gildas* affirms that of the *Roman* times noe *Brittish* Writer was in his daies extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or transported with such as fled the *Pictish* and *Saxon* invasions) these therefore only *Roman* Authors there bee who in the English Tongue have laid together, as much, and perhaps more then was requisite to a History of *Britain*. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so neer to the beginning, I should have judg'd this labour, wherein so little seems to be requir'd above transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if ought by diligence may bee added, or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explain'd, or more expres'd, I shall assay.

*Julius Caesar* (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more then what appertains, is not here to be discours'd) having subdu'd most part of *Gallia*, which by a potent faction, he had obtain'd of the Senat as his Province for many years, stirr'd up with a desire of adding still more glory to his name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his ambition, som say, with a farr meaner and ignobler, the desire of *Brittish* Pearls, whose bigness he delighted to ballance in his hand, determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to trie his Force in the Conquest also of *Britain*. For he understood that the *Britans* in most of his *Gallian* Warrs had sent supplies against him, had receiv'd fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Citties of *Armorica*, which had the year before conspir'd all in a new Rebellion.

*Suetonius*  
vir. *Cæs.*

Year before  
Christ, 53.

*Suetonius.*  
*Cæsar Com.*  
L. 1.

*Cæsar Com.*  
L. 4.

Therefore *Cæsar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a Warr, yet judg'd it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the *Ile*, knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, the accesses; which then, it seems, were eev'n to the *Gauls* thir Neighbours almost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, saith he, that any use to Travel thither; and to those that doe, besides the Sea Coast, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing else is known. But heer I must require, as *Pollio* did, the diligence, at least the memory of *Cæsar*: for if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiacus*, not long before, a Puissant King of the *Soissons*, had *Britain* also under his Command, besides the *Belgian Colonies* which he affirms to have nam'd and peopl'd many Provinces there, if also the *Britans* had so frequently giv'n them aid in all thir Warrs, if lastly the *Druid* learning honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of *Britain*, and they who soonest would attain that Discipline, sent hether to learn; it appears not how *Britain* at that time should be so utterly unknow'n in *Gallia*, or only know'n to Merchants, yea to them so little, that beeing call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cæsar* of what bigness the *Ile*, what Nations, how great, what use of Warr they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends *Cains Volusenus*, in a long Galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. Hee in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the *Morine Coast*, whence the shortest passage was into *Britain*. Hether his Navy which he us'd against the *Armoricans*,  
and

and what else of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britain*, Embassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages, and Obedience to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience giv'n, *Cesar* as largely promising, and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them *Comius of Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* party among the *Britans*, in as many Citties as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was speeding thether. *Volusenus* with what discovery of the *Iland* he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five daies returns to *Cesar*. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordnarily amounting, of *Romans* and thir Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horse, the Foot in 80 Ships of burden, the Horse in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, setts off about the third watch of night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Salpitiuss Rufus* to make good the Port with a sufficient strength. But the Horse whose appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound 8 mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to Imbark. *Cesar* now within sight of *Britain* beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed men, ready to forbid his landing; and *Cicero* writes to his friend *Atticus*, that the accesss of the *Iland* were wondrously fortify'd with strong workes or moles. Heer from the fowrth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet. Mean while with his Legatts and Tribuns consulting, and giving order to fitt all things for what might happ'n in such a various, and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay-close, environ'd

*Cic. Att. L.*  
4. Ep. 17.

Camden.

with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open shoar 8 Mile distant; commonly suppos'd about *Deal in Kent*. Which when the *Britans* perceav'd, thir Horse and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, scowring before, thir main powr speeding after, som thick upon the shoar, others not tarrying to be assail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and assault the *Romans* eev'n under thir Ships; with such a bold, and free hardihood, that *Cæsar* himself between confessing and excusing that his Souldiers were to come down from thir Ships, to stand in water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terrour of such new and resolute opposition made them forget thir wonted valour. To succour which, he commands his Gallies, a sight unusual to the *Britans*, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the op'n side of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the strangeness of those new Sea Castles, bearing up so neer, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oares, the battring of seirce Engines against thir bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britans* give much ground, or the *Romans* gain; till he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion, yet in the Gallies, first beseeching his gods, said thus alowd, *leap down Souldiers, unless ye mean to betray your Ensigne; I for my part will perform what I ow to the Commonwealth and my General*. This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle seircly advanc'd runs upon the Enemy; the rest hartning one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh loosing thir cheif Standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew thir own advantages, and expertly

pertly us'd them, now in the shallows, now on the Sand, still as the *Romans* went trooping to their Ensignes, receav'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of thir Horse, put them every where to great disorder. But *Cesar* causing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Souldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with releif where they saw need; Whereby at length all the Foot now disembark't, and got together in som order on firm ground, with a more steddy charge put the *Britans* to flight: but wanting all thir Horse, whom the winds yet withheld from Sailing, they were not able to make poursuit. In this confused fight *Scæva* a *Valer. Max. Roman Souldier*, having press'd too farr among the *Plutarch. Britans*, and besett round, after incredible valour shewn, single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline: which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherin valour, and ingenuity so much out-weigh'd transgression, easily made amends and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Cesar* also is brought in by *Julian, In Cesarib.* attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make *Cesar* less understand what became him then *Scæva*. The *Britans* finding themselvs maister'd in fight, forthwith send Embassadors to treat of peace; promising to give Hostages, and to be at command. With them *Cominus of Arras* also return'd; whom hitherto since his first coming from *Cesar*, they had detain'd in Prison as a spy: the blame wherof they lay on the common people; for whose violence, and thir own imprudence

dence they crave pardon. *Cæsar* complaining they had first sought peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages : wherof part they bring in strait, others farr up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few daies. Mean while the people disbanded and sent home, many Princes, and cheif men from all parts of the Ile submit themselves and thir Citties to the dispose of *Cæsar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Baram down*. Thus had the *Britans* made thir peace ; when suddenly an accident unlook'd for put new counsels into thir minds. Fowr daies after the coming of *Cæsar*, those 18 Ships of burden , which from the upper hav'n had tak'n in all the *Roman Horse*, born with a soft wind to the very Coast, in sight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a sudden tempest scatter'd, and driv'n back, some to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the West Country ; who finding there no safety either to land, or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubl'd Sea ; and as *Orosius* reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the Romans, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of *Cæsar*, and his whole Army ; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay heer, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britans* well perceaving, and by the compass of his Camp, which without baggage appear'd the smaller, guessing at his numbers, consult together, and one by one slyly withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a peace, resolve to stop all pro-



visions, and to draw out the business till Winter. *Cæsar* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and thir other hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, against what might happ'n: laies in Corn, and with materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of those Ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant labour of his Souldiers, all butt twelv were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the Legions being sent out to forrage, as was accustom'd, and no suspicion of Warr, while som of the *Britans* were remaining in the Country about, others also going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in station at the Camp Gates sent speedy word to *Cæsar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater dust then usual was seen to rise. *Cæsar* guessing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thether, two others to succeed in thir stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæsar* discerns his Legion sore overcharg'd: for the *Britans* not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow, would be in that place which only they had left unrep'd of all thir Harvest, had plac'd an Ambush; and while they were disperst and busiest at thir labour, set upon them, kill'd som, and routed the rest. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots; wherein riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of thir Horse, and of thir Wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of thir Enemies; then retreating among the Horse, and quitting thir Chariots, they fought on Foot. The Charioters in the mean while somewhat aside from the Battell, set themselv's in such order, <sup>le</sup> that

that thir Maisters at any time oppress'd with odds, might retire safely thether, having perform'd with one person both the nimble service of a Horse-man, and the stedfast duty of a Foot Souldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by use, and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep Hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swiftly, now running on the beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this sort of new skirmishing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cæsar* with opportune aid appears; for then the *Britans* make a stand: but he considering that now was not fitt time to offer Battell, while his men were scarce recover'd of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Furder action for many days following was hinder'd on both sides by foul weather; in which time the *Britans* dispatching Messengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of prise and booty, and now if ever of freeing themselvs from the fear of like invasions heerafter by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp thir Enemies, at this intimation multitudes of Horse and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the *Romans*. *Cæsar* foreseeing that the *Britans* though beat'n and put to flight would easily evade his Foot, yet with no more then 30 Horse, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his men to Battell, puts again the *Britans* to flight, pursues with slaughter, and returning burns and laies waste all about. Whereupon Embassadors the same day being sent from the *Britans* to desire peace, *Cæsar*, as his affairs at present stood, for so great a breach of Faith, only imposes on them double the former hostages, to be sent after him into *Gallia*: And because *September* was

nigh half spent, a season not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet, the same night with a fair wind he departs towards *Belgia*; whether two only of the *Britan* Citties sent Hostages, as they promis'd, the rest neglected. But at *Rome* when the news came of *Cæsars* acts here, whether it were esteem'd a Conquest, or a fair Escape, supplication of 20 days is decreed by the Senate, as either for an exploit done, or a discovery made, wherein both *Cæsar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him, or the Commonwealth.

The Winter following, *Cæsar*, as his custom was, *Dion.* going into *Italy*, when as he saw that most of the *Britans* regarded not to send thir Hostages, appoints *Cæsar Com.* his Legats whom he left in *Belgia*, to provide what possible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to bee, as therby easier both to fraught, and to hale ashoar; nor needed to be higher, because the Tyde so often changing, was observ'd to make the Billows less in our Sea then those in the Mediterranean: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other fraughtage, being intended cheifly to that end. These all about 600. in a readines, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks above 200, *Cotta* one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athæneus* affirms, in all 1000, *Cæsar* from Port *Iccius*, a passage of som 30 mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the hav'n, and for other supply at need, with five Legions; though but 2000 Horse, about sun sett hoysing saile with a slack South-West, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the current, had fal'n of from the Ile, which now they could

Before the  
Birth of  
Christ, 52.

descry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tugg the Oare, and kept course with Ships under sayl, he bore up as neer as might bee, to the same place where he had landed the yeer before; where about noon arriving, no Enemy could be seen. For the *Britans*, which in great number, as was after know'n, had bin there, at sight of so huge a Fleet durst not abide. *Cesar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best advantage, som notice being giv'n him by those he took, whereto find the Enemy, with his whole power, save only ten cohorts, and 300 Horse, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the same night marches up twelv mile into the Country. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, espies embat-tail'd the *British Forces*. They with thir Horses and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppose the *Romans* in thir March, and begin the fight; but repuls't by the *Roman Cavalrie* give back into the Woods to a place notably made strong both by Art and Nature; which, it seems, had bin a Fort, or Hold of strength rays'd heertofore in time of Warrs among themselves. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within these the *Britans* did thir utmost to keep out the Enemy. But the Souldiers of the seventh Legion locking all thir Shreilds together like a rooff close over head, and others raising a Mount, without much loss of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the Woods. Pursuit they made not long, as beeing through ways unknow'n; and now ev'ning came on, which they more wisely spent, in choosing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that night. The next Morning

Morning *Cæsar* had but newly sent out his men in three bodies to pursue, and the last no further gone then yet in sight, when Horsemen all in Poste from *Quintus Artrius* bring word to *Cæsar*, that almost all his Ships in a Tempest that night had suffer'd wrack, and lay brok'n upon the shoar. *Cæsar* at this news recalls his Legions, himself in all hast riding back to the Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty Vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn, and shak'n as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he assembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be summon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting his Souldiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had defeated the *Britans*: who preventing him with greater powers then before, had now repossess'd themselvs of that place, under *Cassibelan* thir cheif Leader. Whose Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by the *River Thames* about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual Warr; but now in the common danger had all made choise of him to be thir Generall. Heer the *British* Horse and Charioters meeting with the *Roman* Cavalrie fought stoutly; and at first, something overmatch'd they retreat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but still follow'd by the *Romans*, make head again, cut of the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while *Cæsar*, who thought the days work had bin don, was busied

about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give seirce assault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries, and while the main cohorts of two Legions that were sent to the Alarme, stood within a small distance of each other terrify'd at the newness and the boldness of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the Romans that day was slain *Quintus Laberius Purnus* a Tribune: the *Britans* having fought thir fill at the very entrance of *Cæsars* Camp, and sustain'd the resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the assault. *Cæsar* heer acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durst not by ancient Discipline stirr from thir Ensigne; and the Horse alone, disjoyn'd from the Legions, against a foe that turn'd suddenly upon them with a mixt encounter both of Horse and Foot, were in equall danger both following and retiring. Besides thir fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions, and open distances to make thir onset; appointing others at certain spaces, now to releev and bring of the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argu'd no small experience, and use of Armes. Next day the *Britans* afarr off upon the Hills begin to shew themselves heer and there, and though less boldly then before, to skirmish with the *Roman* Horse. But at Noon *Cæsar* having sent out 3 Legions, and all his Horse with *Trebonius* the Legat, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the Forragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The *Romans* with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, beeing

well seconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from their Chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the *Britans*, that dwelt farder off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a power against *Cæsar*. Whereof advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Cassibelan*, which on this side were bounded by the *Thames*, not passable except in one place and that difficult, about *Comay Stakes neer Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he descries on the other side great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array; the bank sett all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with water; whereof the marks in *Beda's* time, were to be seene, as he relates. This having learnt by such as were tak'n, or had run to him, he first commands his Horse to pass over; then his Foot, who wading up to the neck went on so resolutely, and so fast, that they on the further side not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. *Cassibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victorie, dismissing all but 4000. of those Charioters, through Woods; and intricate waies attends thir motion; where the *Romans* are to pass, drives all before him; and with continuall sallies upon the Horse, where they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compells them soe close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or bootie without ill success. Whereupon *Cæsar* strictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houses, which he spoil'd and burnt. Meane while the *Trinobantes* a State, or Kingdome, and perhaps the greatest then among the *Britans*, less favouring *Cassibelan* send Embassadors, and yeild to *Cæsar* upon this reason.

Camden. 16.57

*Immanuentius* had bin thir King : him *Cassibelan* had slaine, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Orosius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda Androginus* ; but the youth escaping by flight into *Gallia*, put himself under the protection of *Cæsar*. These entreat that *Mandubratius* may be still defended ; and sent home to succeed in his Fathers right. *Cæsar* sends him, demands 40 Hostages and provision for his Armie, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By their example the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, *Cassi* (so I write them for the modern names are but guess'd) on like terms make thir peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibelan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not farr distant ; fenc'd about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff'd with men and much Cattel. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Wooddy places Ditch'd round and with a Mud Wall encompass'd against the inroades of Enemies. Thether goes *Cæsar* with his Legions, and though a place of great strength both by art and nature, assaults it in two places. The *Britans* after some defence fled out all at another end of the Town ; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattel found there. *Cassibelan* for all these losses yet deserts not himself ; nor was yet his authoritie so much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner possess'd by the Enemy, his Messengers and commands finde obedience enough to raise all the people. By his direction *Cingetorix*, *Carwilins*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*, four Kings Reigning in those Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the *Romans* had entrench'd thir Shipping : but they whom *Cæsar* left there, issuing out slew many, and took Prisoners *Cin-*  
*getorix*



*getorix* a noted Leader, without loss of thir own. *Cassibelan* after so many defeats, mov'd especially by revolt of the Citties from him, thir inconstancie and falshood one to another, uses mediation by *Cominus of Arras* to send Embassadors about treatie of yeilding. *Cesar* who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reason that *Gallia* was unsettl'd and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland should pay to *Rome*, forbids him to molest the *Trinobants*, or *Mandubratins*; and with his Hostages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, haveing at twise embark't his whole Armie. At his return to *Rome*, as from a glorious enterprise, he *Pliny* offers to *Venus* the Patroness of his Family, a Corset of *British Pearles*.

Howbeit other antient writers have spok'n more doubtfully of *Cesars* Victories heer; and that in plaine termes he fled from hence; for which the common verse in *Lucan* with divers passages heer and there in *Tacitus* is alleg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who took *Oros. Lib. 6.* what he wrote from a Historie of *Suetonius* now lost, *c. 7. & 9.* writes that *Cesar* in his first journey entertain'd with a sharp fight lost no small number of his Foot, and by tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms that once in the second expedition all his Foot were routed, *Orosius* that another time all his Horse. The *British* Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial discourses of *Cesars* beeing heer, which are best omitted. Nor have wee more of *Cassibelan*, then what the same storie tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nefew slain by *Evelinus* Nefew to the other; which busi- nesses at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies and was buried in *Yorke*, if the *Monmouth Booke* Fable not. But

at *Cæsars* coming hither, such likeliest were the *Britans*, as the Writers of those times, and thir own actions represent them ; in courage and warlike readinessto take advantage by ambush or sudden onset, not inferiour to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Cæsar*, in Weapons, Armes, and the skill of Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't ; thir Weapons were a short Speare and light Target, a Sword also by thir side, thir fight sometimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir bodies most part naked, only painted with woad in sundrie figures to seeme terrible as they thought, but poursu'd by Enemies, not nice of thir painting to run into Bogs, worse then *wild Irish* up to the Neck, and there to stay many daies holding a certain morsel in thir mouths no bigger then a bean, to suffice hunger ; but that receit, and the temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us : thir Towns and strong holds were spaces of ground fenc't about with a Ditch and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other, thir buildings within were thatch't Houses for themselves and thir Cattell : in peace the Upland Inhabitants besides hunting tended thir flocks and heards, but with little skill of Countrie affaires ; the making of Cheese they commonly knew not, Woole or Flax they spun not, gard'ning and planting many of them knew not ; clothing they had none, but what the skins of Beasts afforded them, and that not alwaies ; yet gallantrie they had, painting thir own skins with severall Portratures of Beast, Bird, or Flower, a *Vanitie which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many colour'd Ribands and gewgawes* ; towards the Sea side they till'd the ground and liv'd much after the manner of *Gauls* thir Neighbours, or first Plan-

Dion.

Mela.

Cæsar.

Herodian.

Dion.

Cæsar.

Strabo.

Dion.

Strabo.

Herodian.

Solinus.

Cæsar.

ters : thir money was brazen pieces or Iron Rings, *Tacitus, Dio-*  
 thir best Merchandise Tin, the rest trifles of Glafs, *dor. Strabo.*  
 Ivorie and fuch like ; yet Gemms and Pearles they  
 had, faith *Mela*, in fome Rivers : thir Ships of light *Lucan.*  
 timber wickerd with Oyfier betweene, and coverd  
 over with Leather, ferv'd not therefore to trance-  
 port them farr, and thir commodities were fetch't  
 away by Foren Merchants : thir dealing, faith *Dio-*  
*dorus*, plaine and fimple without fraude ; thir civil  
 Government under many Princes and States, not *Tacitus.*  
 confederate or confulting in common, but miftruf-  
 full, and oft-times warring one with the other, which *Mela.*  
 gave them up one by one an eafie Conqueft to the  
*Romans* : thir Religion was governd by a fort of  
 Priests or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek  
 name of an *Oke*, which Tree they had in greate re-  
 verence, and the *Mistleto* efpecially growing theron ;  
*Plinie* writes them skill'd in Magic no lefs then thofe  
 of *Persia* : by thir abftaining from a Hen, a Hare, and *Dion.*  
 a Goofe, from Fish alfo, faith *Dion*, and thir opinion  
 of the Soules paffing after Death into other Bo- *Cæfar.*  
 dies, they may be thought to have ftudied *Pythago-*  
*ras* ; yet Philofophers I cannot call them, reported  
 men factious and ambitious, contending fomtimes  
 about the archprielthood not without civil Warr *Cæfar.*  
 and flaughter ; nor reftrein'd they the people under  
 them from a lew'd adulterous and inceftuous life,  
 ten or twelve men abfurdly againft nature, poffeffing  
 one woman as thir common Wife, though of neer-  
 eft Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sister ; Progenitors  
 not to be glori'd in. But the Gofpel, not long after  
 preach't heer, abolifh'd fuch impurities, and of the  
*Romans* we have caufe not to fay much worfe, then  
 that they beate us into fome civilitie ; likely elfe to  
 have continu'd longer in a barbarous and favage

manner of life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the *Roman* Common-wealth, and was slain in the Senate for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Strabo* L. 2. *Octavianus Caesar Augustus*, either contemning the *Iland*, as *Strabo* would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having, nor enmitie worth the fearing; or out of a wholsome state maxim, as some say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildie, made no attempt against the *Britans*. But the truer cause was partly civil Warr among the *Romans*, partly other affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after, all which time the *Britans* had liv'd at thir own dispose, *Augustus* in *Dion. L. 49.* imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending or Year before seeming to intend an expedition hither, was com in- the Birth of to *Gallia*, when the news of a revolt in *Pannonia* Christ, 25. diverted him: about 7 year after in the same reso- *Dion. L. 53.* lution, what with the unsettl'dness of *Gallia*, and 24. what with Embassadors from *Britain* which met him there, he proceeded not. The next yeat, difference arising about Covnants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in *Spaine*. Nevertheless som of the *British* Potentates omitted not to seek his friendship by gifts offerd in the Capitol, and other obsequious addresses. In somuch that the whole *Iland* became eev'n in those daies well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britans* paid none to *Augustus*, except what easie customes were levied on the slight commodities wherewith they traded into *Gallia*.

*Strabo* L. 4.

After *Cassibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Storie was made King.

## Book 2. *The History of England.*

51

King. For *Androgeus* the Elder, conceaving himself generally hated, for sideing with the *Romans*, forsook his claime heer, and follow'd *Cæsars* Fortune. *This King is recorded Just and Warlike.*

His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of *Augustus*, and with him held friendly correspondences to the end; was a warlike Prince; his chief seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon*, as by certain of his coines, yet to be seen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering alwaies to the advice of *Augustus*, and of himself less careing to extend the bounds of his Empire, fought not the *Britans*; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the Souldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had bin cast on the *Britan shoar*. But *Caligula* his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, haveing past the *Alpes* with intent to rob and spoile those Provinces, and stirr'd up by *Adminius* the Son of *Cunobeline*; who by his Father banish'd, with a small number fled thether to him, he made semblance of marching toward *Britain*; but beeing come to the Ocean, and there behaveing himself madly, and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting letters to the Senate, as if all *Britain* had bin yeilded him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminius* the Eldest by his Father banish'd from his Country, and by his own practice against it, from the Crown, though by an old coine seeming to have also reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caractacus* the two younger, uncertaine whether equal or subordinat in power, were advanc'd into his place. But through civil discord, *Bericus* (what he was further, is not known) with others of his party flying to *Rome*, perswaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an invasion. *Claudius* now Consul the third time, and desirous to

*Tacit. an. L.*

2.

Year after the Birth of Christ, 16.

*Dion. Sueton. Cal.*

*An. Dom.*

40.

*Dion.*

43.

do something, whence he might gain the honour of a Triumph, at the persuasion of these fugitives, whom the *Britans* demanding, he had deny'd to render, and they for that cause had deny'd further amity with *Rome*, makes choise of *this Island* for his Province : and sends before him *Aulus Plantius the Prætor*, with this command, if the business grew difficult to give him notice. *Plantius* with much ado persuaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they must be put to make Warr beyond the Worlds End ; for so they counted *Britain* ; and what welcom *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoysing saile from three several Ports, lest thir landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting crosse winds, they were cast back and disheartn'd : till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the East, and, as they fanci'd, directing thir course, they took heart againe to try the Sea, and without opposition landed. For the *Britans* haveing heard of thir unwillingness to comê, had bin negligent to provide against them ; and retireing to the Woods and Moares, intended to frustrate, and wear them out with delaies, as they had serv'd *Cæsar* before. *Plantius* after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them ; and receaving into conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were subject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Garrison, went on toward a River ; where the *Britans* not imagining that *Plantius* without a bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he sending first the *Germans*, whose custome was, arm'd as they were, to swim with ease the strongest current, commands them to strike especially at the Horses, whereby

whereby the Chariots, wherein consisted thir chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent *Vespasian*, who in his later daies obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the *Britans* dismaid; but reuniteing the next day fought with such a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victorie: till *Caius Sidius Geta*, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at *Rome* he receav'd high honours. After this the *Britans* drew back toward the mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with those places, cross'd over; where the *Romans* following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry Alarmes and great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of thir own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the *Britans* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of these Battels had bin slain, *Plantius* fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoin'd him, sendsto *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flowr of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King, with armed Elephants marches through *Gallia*. So full of perill was this enterprize esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger terrors then *Roman* Armies to meet the native and the naked *British* valour defending their Country. Joyn'd with *Plantius* who encamping on the Bank of *Thames* attended him, he passes the River. The *Britans*, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct

duct of old *Cassibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in down right manhood scrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almost the whole power of the *Roman Empire*. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by force, others by treatie com in and yeild. *Claudius* therfore who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was oft'n by his Armie saluted *Imperator*; a Militarie Title which usually they gave thir Generall after any notable exploit; but to others not above once in the same Warr; as if *Claudius* by these acts had deservd more then the Laws of *Rome* had provided honour to reward. Haveing therefore disarm'd the *Britans*, but remitted the confiscation of thir goods; for which they worship'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God, leaving *Plantius* to subdue what remain'd; he returnes to *Rome*, from whence he had bin absent only six moneths, and in *Britain* but 16 daies; sending the news before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the *Iland*. To whom the Senate, as for atchievements of highest merit, decree'd excessive honours; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, *annual Solemnities*, and the Sirname of *Britannicus* both to him and his Son.

*Suetonius* writes that *Claudius* found heer no resistance, and that all was done without stroke: but this seems not probable. The *Monmouth Writer* names these two Sones of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius*, and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* beeing slaine in fight, *Arviragus* to conceale it, put on his Brothers Habillements, and in his person held up the Battel to a Victorie; the rest, as of *Hamo* the *Roman Captaine*, *Genuissa* the Emperors Daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth reherfing in the midst of Truth. *Plantius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to Conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries,

Dion. L. 62.

Tacit. an. 14.

44.



tries, found worke enough to deserve at his returne a kind of Tryumphant riding into *the Capitol* side by side with the Emperour. *Vespasian* also under *Plantius* had thirtie conflicts with the Enemy; in one of which encompass'd and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescu'd by his Son *Titus*: two powerfull Nations he subdu'd heer, above 20 Townes and *the Ile of Wight*; for which he receav'd at *Rome* Tryumphal Ornaments, and other great dignities. For that *Cittie* in reward of vertue was ever magnificent: and long after when true merit was ceas't among them, lest any thing resembling vertue should want honour, the same rewards were yet allow'd to the very shadow and ostentation of merit. *Ostorius* in the room of *Plantius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent affaires; the *Britans* not ceasing to vex with inrodes all those Countries that were yeilded to the *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, supposing that the new Generall unacquainted with his Armie, and on the edge of Winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he waighing that first events were most available to breed fear or contempt, with such cohorts as were next at hand sets out against them: whome having routed, so close he followes, as one who meant not to be everie day molested with the cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldn'd Enemy. Lest they should make head againe, he disarmes whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many Garrisons upon the Rivers of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Icenians*, a stout people untouch'd yet by these Warrs, as haveing before sought alliance with the *Romans*, were the first that brook'd not this. By their example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily Encampe.

Sueton.

Cland. 5. 24.

Sueton. Vesp.

Div. L. 60.

47.

50.

Tacit. ann. 12.

*rius*, though yet not strengthn'd with his Legions, causes the auxiliar Bands, his Troops also allighting, to assault the rampart. They within though pester'd with thir own number, stood to it like men resolv'd, and in a narrow compass did remarkable deeds. But overpowerd at last, and others by thir success quieted, who till then waverd, *Ostorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, wasting all even to the Sea of *Ireland*, without foe in his way, or them, who durst, ill handl'd; when the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whome the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiv'n, soon gave over, but the *Silures* no way tractable were not to be repress'd without a set Warr. To furder this, *Camelodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Soldiers*; to be a firme and readie aid against revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman Law and Civilitie*. *Cogidunus* also a *British King*, thir fast friend, had to the same intent certain Citties giv'n him: a haughtie craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the *Silures* hardie of themselves, rely'd more on the valour of *Caractacus*; whome many doubtfull, many prosperous successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britain*. He adding to his courage Policie, and knowing himself to be of strength inferior, in other advantages the better; makes the Seat of his Warr among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherein all the odds were to his own partie, all the difficulties to his Enemie. The Hills and every access he fortifi'd with heapes of Stones, and guards of men; to com at whom a River of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as *Camden conjectures*, had thence the name of *Cuer-Caradoc on the*

*Tacit. vit.  
Agric.*

*West edge of Shropshire.* He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, *that this was the day, this the field either to defend thir Libertie, or to die free*; calling to mind the names of his glorious Ancestors, who drove *Cæsar* the Dictator out of *Britain*, whose valour hitherto had preserv'd them from bondage, thir Wives and Children from dishonour. Inflam'd with these words, they all vow thir utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amaz'd the *Roman Generall*; but the Souldier less waighing, because less knowing, clamoured to be led on against any danger. *Ostorius* after wary circumspection bids them pass the River: the *Britans* no sooner had them within reach of thir Arrowes, Darts, and Stones, but slew and wounded largely of the *Romans*. They on the other side closing thir ranks, and over head closing thir Targetts, threw down the loose rampires of the *Britans*, and persue them up the Hills both light arm'd and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavie strokes, the *Britans* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victorie; wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* were tak'n, his Brothers also reduc'd to obedience; himself escaping to *Cartismandua* *Queene of the Brigantes*, against faith giv'n was to the Victors deliverd bound: having held out against the *Romans* nine year, saith *Tacitus*, but by truer computation, *seven*. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoyning Provinces, eev'n to *Italy and Rome*: many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the *Roman* Puissance: and *Cæsar* to extoll his own Victorie, extoll'd the man whom he had vanquish'd. Being brought to *Rome*, the people as to a

Solemn spectacle were call'd together, the Emperors Guard stood in Armes. In order came first the Kings Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Warrs, next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: he only neither in countenance, word, or action, submissive standing at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly spake to this purpose. *If my mind, Cæsar, had bin as moderate in the height of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignitie was eminent, I might have come a friend rather than a Captive into this Cittie. Nor couldst thou have dislik'd him for a confederate, so noble of descent, and ruling so many Nations. My present estate to me disgracefull, to thee is glorious. I had Riches, Horses, Armes, and men; no wonder then if I contended, not to loose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessitie ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had bin brought to yeild, my misfortune had bin less notorious, your Conquest had bin less renown'd; and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgott'n. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so neer divine, the clemency of a Conquerour. Cæsar mov'd at such a spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissely thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperors Wife, who sat by in State: a new and disdain'd sight to the manly Eyes of *Romans*, a Woeman sitting public in her Female pride among Ensignes and Armed Cohorts. To *Ostorius* Triumph is decreed; and his acts esteem'd equall to theirs, that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famousest Kings. But the same prosperitie attended not his later actions*

actions heer. For the *Silures*, whether to reveng  
thir los of *Caractacus*, or that they saw *Ostorius*,  
as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain  
them, besett the Prefect of his Camp, left there with  
Legionarie Bands to appoint Garrisons : and had  
not speedie aid com in from the neighbouring Holds  
and Castles, had cutt them all off; notwithstanding  
which, the *Praefect* with 8 *Centurions*, and many  
thir stoutest men were slaine : and upon the neck of  
this, meeting first with *Roman* Forragers, then with  
other Troops hasting to thir relief, utterly foyl'd and  
broke them also. *Ostorius* sending more after, could  
hardly stay thir flight; till the waighty Legions  
coming on, at first poys'd the Battel, at length turn'd  
the Scale : to the *Britans* without much loss; for by  
that time it grew night. Then was the Warr shi-  
verd as it were into small frayes and bickerings; not  
unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in Woods,  
at Waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashness  
led them on, commanded or without command.  
That which most exasperated the *Silures*, was a re-  
port of certaine words cast out by the *Emperor*, that  
he would root them out to the verie name. Therefore  
two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of  
thir Leaders too securely pillageing, they quite inter-  
cepted : and bestowing liberally the Spoils and Cap-  
tives, whereof they took plentie; drew other  
Countries to joyne with them. These losses falling  
so thick upon the *Romans*, *Ostorius* with the thought,  
and anguish thereof ended his daies: the *Britans*  
rejoycing, although no Battel, that yet adverse Warr  
had worne out so great a Souldier. *Cæsar* in his  
place ordaines *Aulus Didius* : but ere his coming,  
though much hastn'd, that the Province might not  
want a Governour; the *Silures* had giv'n an over-  
throw.

throw to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumor'd on both sides greater then was true, by *the Silures* to amate the new Generall; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he queld them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Meane time the *Silures* forgett not to infest the *Roman* pale with wide excursions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them fomewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after *Caractacus* should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of Warr, *Venutius a Prince of the Brigantes* merited to be thir chief. He at first faithfull to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cartismandua Q. of the Brigantes*, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Countrie to adorne the Tryumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerfull and gracious with the *Romans*, presuming on the hire of her treason, deserted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus* one of his Squires, conferrs on him the Kingdome also. This deed so odious and full of infamie, disturb'd the whole State: *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the example of so foule a fact, and with all the uncomelines of thir Subjection to the Monarchie of a Woeman, a peece of manhood not every day to be found among *Britans*, though shee had got by suttle train his Brother with many of his kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of beeing able to resist longer. When imploring the *Roman* aid, with much adoe, and after many a hard encounter she escap'd the punishment which was readie to have seisd her. *Venutius* thus debar'd the authority of ruling his own Household, justly turnes his anger against the *Romans* themselves; whose magnanimitie not wont to undertake

dertake dishonorable causes, had arrogantly intermeddl'd in his domestic affaires, to uphold the Rebellion of an adultress against her Husband. And the Kingdome he retain'd against thir utmost opposition; and of Warr gave them thir fill: first in a sharpe conflict of uncertaine event, then against the Legion of *Cassius Nasica*. Inſomuch that *Didius* growing old and manning the Warr by Deputies, had worke enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the *Ile* things continu'd in the same plight to the Reigne of *Vespasian*.) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the Roman Forces out of *Britain*: In other parts whereof, about the same time, other things befell. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* sent hither to succeed *Didius*, dying in his first Year, save a few inrodes upon the *Silures*, left only a great boast behind him, *that in two years, had he liv'd, he would have Conquer'd all*. But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was sent hither, esteem'd a Souldier equall to the best in that age; for two years together went on prosperously; both confirming what was got, and subducing onward. At last overconfident of his present actions, and æmulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as farr as *Mona, the Ile of Anglesey*, a populous place. For they it seemes had both entertain'd fugitives, and giv'n good assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him Boates with flat bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow frith: his Foot so pass'd over, his Horse waded or swom. Thick upon the shoar stood several gross bands of men well weapn'd, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit with hair loose about thir shoulders, held

Tacit. vit.

Agric.

Tacit. Hist.

3. Sueton.

Torches in thir hands. The *Druids*, those were thir Priests, of whome more in another place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering direfull praiers, astonish'd the *Romans*; who at so strange a sight stood in a-maze though wounded: at length awak'd and encourag'd by thir Generall, not to feare a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down scorch't and rouling in thir own fire. Then were they yoak'd with Garrisons, and the places consecrate to thir bloodie superstitions destroy'd. For whom they took in Warr they held it lawfull to Sacrifice; and by the entrails of men us'd divination. While thus *Paulinus* had his thought still fix'd before, to goe on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occasion of loosing more behind. For the *Britans* urg'd and oppress'd with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a generall revolt. The particular causes are not all writt'n by one Author; *Tacitus* who liv'd next those times of any to us extant, writes that *Prasutagus King of the Icenians* abounding in wealth had left *Cæsar* Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his House; which fell out farr otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the Emperors new Inheritance, his Kingdome became a prey to Centurions, his House to rav'ning Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthiest of his Subjects, as it were by the will and testament of thir King thrown out of thir Estates, his kindred made little better then slaves. The new Colony also at *Camalodunum* took House or Land from whome they pleas'd; terming them Slaves and Vassals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same



licept themselves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius* as a badge of thir eternal slaverie, stood a great Eye sore ; the Priests whereof under pretext of what was due to the religious service, wasted and imbezl'd each mans substance upon themselves. And *Catus Decianus* the Procurator endeavour'd to bring all thir goods within the compass of a new confiscation, by disavowing the remittment of *Claudius*. Lastly, *Seneca* in his Books a Philosopher, having drawn the *Britans* unwillingly to borrow of him vast summs upon faire promises of ealy loan, and for repayment to take thir own time, on a sudden compells them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provock't by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in Armes. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signes appear'd: the image of Victorie at *Camalodunum* fell down of it self with her face turn'd as it were to the *Britans*; certaine women in a kind of ecstasie foretold of calamities to come; in the Counsel-House were heard by night barbarous noises, in the Theater hideous howlings, in the Creek horrid sights betok'ning the destruction of that Colony; heerto the Ocean seeming of a bloody hew, and human shapes at a low ebb, left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the *Britans* new courage, in the *Romans* unwonted feares. *Camalodunum*, where the *Romans* had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather then defensively, was not fortifi'd: against that therefore the *Britans* make first assault. The Souldiers within were not very many. *Decianus* the Procurator could send them but 200, those ill arm'd: and through the treachery of some among them,

who secretly favour'd the insurrection, they had deserr'd both to entrench, and to send out such as bore not Armes; such as did, flying to the Temple, which on the second day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the rest rifl'd and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his succour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to peeces; he with his Horse hardly escaping to the *Roman Camp*. *Decianus*, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at these tideings not dismay'd, through the midst of his Enemies Countrie marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade and other commodities, a Town eev'n then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of Warr. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of *Petilius*, he chooses rather with the loss of one Town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who through weakness of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, perish'd by the Enemy; so did *Verulam* a *Roman free Town*. For the *Britans* omitting Forts and Castles, flew thither first where richest bootie, and the hope of pillageing toald them on. In this massacre, about 70 thousand *Romans* and thir associats in the places above-mention'd, of a certaine, lost thir lives. None might be spar'd, none ransom'd, but tasted all either a present or a lingring Death; no crueltie that either outrage or the insolence of success putt into thir heads, was left unacted. The *Roman Wives* and *Virgins* hang'd up all naked, had thir Breasts cut off, and sow'd to thir mouthes; that

in the grimness of Death they might seem to eat their own flesh; while the *Britans* fell to feasting and carousing in the Temple of *Andate* their Goddess of Victorie. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion other old Officers, and Souldiers thereabout, which gathered to him, were neer upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to deferr Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in Front on a plain unapt for ambush: the Legionaries stood thick in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The *Britans* in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckon'd then 200 and 30 thousand, so fierce and confident of Victorie, that their Wives also came in Waggon to sit and behold the sport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans*: a folly doubtless for the serious *Romans* to smile at, as a sure tok'n of prospering that day: a Woeman also was their Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great encouragement, that with the *Britans* it was usual for Woemen to be their Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier silence, retirement, and a Vail, then for a Woeman to repeat, as don to her own person, or to hear repeated before an host of men. *The Greek Historian* setteth her in the field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-bodied Gown declaiming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her bosome, which after a long circumlocution she was to let slip among them for lucks sake, then praying to *Andate the British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before.

before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out thir Historie with the strangeness of our manners, not careing in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Woemen were Men, and Men Woemen. I affect not set speeches in a Historie, unless known for certain to have bin so spok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unless worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as some Historians have done, is an abuse of posteritie, raising, in them that read, other conceptions of those times and persons then were true. Much less therefore do I purpose heer or elsewhere to Copie out tedious Orations without decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Cassibekan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venusius*, and *Caractacus* hath bin full of magnanimitie, soberness, and martial skill : but the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole business, the *Britans* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *Barbarians*; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience or estimation, either of themselves or of thir Enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seem'd likest not to a Warr, but to the wild hurrey of a distracted Woe-man, with as mad a Crew at her heeles. Therefore *Suetonius* contemning thir unruly noises, and fierce looks, heart'ns his men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood neerest, the rest would be a purchase, rather then a toil. And so it fell out; for the Legion, when they saw thir time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out thir necks to the slayer, for thir own Carts and Waggon were so plac'd by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The

*Roman* slew all; men, women, and the very drawing  
 Horses lay heap'd along the Field in a gory mixture  
 of slaughter. About fowrscore thousand *Britans* are  
 said to have bin slain on the place; of the Enemy  
 scarce 400 and not many more wounded. *Boadicea*  
 poysond her self, or, as others say, sick'n'd and dy'd.  
 She was of Stature big and tall, of visage grim and *Dion.*  
 stern, harsh of voice, her hair of bright colour  
 flowing down to her hipps; she wore a plighted  
 Garment of divers colours, with a great gold'n  
 Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. *Gildas*  
 calls her the craftie lioness, and leaves an ill  
 fame upon her doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise  
 the order of this fight, and that the field was not  
 won without much difficultie, nor without intention  
 of the *Britans* to give another Battel, had not the  
 Death of *Boadicea* come betweene. Howbeit *Sue-*  
*tonius* to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the re-  
 liques of Warr, lodg'd with all his Armie in the  
 op'n field; which was supply'd out of *Germany* with  
 1000 Horse, and 10000 Foot; thence dispers'd to  
 Winter, and with incursions to wast those Countries  
 that stood out. But to the *Britans* famin was a worse  
 affliction; having left off dureing this uproar, to till  
 the ground, and made reck'ning to serve themselves  
 on the provisions of thir Enemy. Nevertheless  
 those Nations that were yet untaimd, hearing of some  
 discord ris'n betweene *Suetonius*, and the new Pro-  
 curator *Classicianus*, were brought but slowly to  
 terms of peace; and the rigor us'd by *Suetonius* on  
 them that yeilded, taught them the better course to  
 stand on thir defence. For it is certaine, that *Sue-*  
*tonius*, though else a worthie man, over-proud of his *Tacit. vit.*  
 Victorie, gave too much way to his anger against *Agrie.*  
*Britans*. *Classician* therefore sending such word to

62.

Rome, that these severe proceedings would beget an endless Warr, *Polycletus*, no Roman but a Courtier, was sent by *Nero* to examin how things went. He admonishing *Suetonius* to use more mildness, aw'd the Armie, and to the Britans gave matter of Laughter. Who so much eeven till then were nurs'd up in thir native libertie, as to wonder that so great a Generall with his whole Armie should be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after having lost a few Gallies on the shoar, was bid resigne his command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the Britans, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his steps, usurping the name of gentle Government to any remissness or neglect of Discipline; which brought in first licence, next disobedience into his Camp; incens'd against him partly for his covetousness, partly by the incitement of *Roscius Celius* Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that civil Warr began in the Empire, he fell to op'n discord; charging him with disorder, and sedition, and him *Celius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of thir pay; insomuch that *Trebellius* hated, and deserted of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by base entreaty, and forc'd at length to flie the Land. Which notwithstanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Celius* and the other Legate of a Legion, both faithfull to *Vitellius* then Emperour; who sent hither *Vespius Bolanus*; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the Britans nothing was done, nor in thir own Discipline reform'd. *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Vespasian* succeeding, had to doe with the populous Bri-

Tacit. Hist.  
2. 1. & vit.  
Agric.

69.

Tacit. Hist.  
2. & vit.  
Agric.

70.

*gantes* in many Battails, and som of those, not un-  
 bloodie. For as we heard before, it was *Venusius*  
 who eeven to these times held them tack, both him-  
 self remaining to the end unvanquish'd, and some  
 part of his Countrie not so much as reach't. It ap-  
 pears also by several passages in the Histories of  
*Tacitus*; that no small number of *British Forces* were  
 commanded over Sea the year before to serve in  
 those bloodie Warrs betweene *Otho* and *Vitellius*,  
*Vitellius* and *Vespasian* contending for the Empire. To  
*Cerealis* succeeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Govern-  
 ment of *Britain*, who by taming the *Silures*, a people  
 warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his  
 reputation. But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Vespasian* in  
 his last year sent hither, train'd up from his youth in  
 the *British* Warrs, extended with victories the *Ro-*  
*man* Limit beyond all his Predecessors. His coming  
 was in the midst of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to  
 welcome the new General, had hew'n in peeces a  
 whole Squadron of Horse, which lay upon thir  
 bounds, few escapeing. *Agricola*, who perceav'd  
 that the noise of this defeat had also in the Province  
 desirous of novelty, stirr'd up new expectations, re-  
 solves to be before-hand with the danger: and draw-  
 ing together the choice of his Legions with a com-  
 petent number of Auxiliars, not beeing met by the  
*Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himself in the head of  
 his men hunts them up and down through difficult  
 places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole  
 Nation. With the same current of success, what  
*Paulinus* had left unfinish'd he Conquers in the *Ile*  
*of Mona*: for the Ilanders altogether fearless of his  
 approach, whom they knew to have no Shipping,  
 when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by  
 the Auxiliars, whose Countrie use had taught them

74.  
*Calvis.**Tacit. Hist.*  
3. & vit. *A-*  
*gric.*

79.

to swim over with Horſe and Armes, were compell'd to yeild. This gain'd *Agricola* much opinion; who at his verie entrance, a time which others beſtow'd of courſe in hearing complements and gratulations, had made ſuch early progreſs into laborious and hardeſt enterpriſes. But by farr not ſo famous was *Agricola* in bringing Warr to a ſpeedie end, as in cutting off the cauſes from whence Warr ariſes. For he knowing that the end of Warr was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own houſe; permitted not his attendants and followers to ſway, or have to doe at all in public affairs: laies on with equallitie the proportions of corn and tribute that were impos'd; takes off exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier then the tribute it ſelf. For the Countries had bin compell'd before, to ſitt and wait the op'ning of public Granaries, and both to ſell and to buy thir Corn at what rate the Publicans thought ſitt; the Pourveyers alſo commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the neereſt, but ſtill to the remoteſt places, either by the compounding of ſuch as would be excus'd, or by cauſing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. Theſe greivances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into ſome credit; which before, ſince the *Roman's* coming, had as ill a name as Warr. The Summer following, *Titus then Emperor*, he ſo continually with inroads diſquieted the Enemie over all the Ile, and after terror ſo allur'd them with his gentle demeanour, that many Citties which till that time would not bend, gave Hoſtages, admitted Garriſons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he ſpent all in worthie actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the inſtitutes and cuſtomes



## Book 2. *The History of England.*

71

of civil life. The Inhabitants rude and scatter'd, and by that the proner to Warr, he so perswaded as to build Houses, Temples, and Seats of Justice; and by praising the forward, quick'ning the slow, assisting all, turn'd the name of necessitie into an emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in liberal Arts; and by preferring the Witts of *Britain*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latine Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* fashions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the incitements also and materials of Vice, and voluptuous life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the elegance of Banqueting; which the foolisher sort call'd civilitie, but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and with a prosperous expedition wasted as farr Northward as the Frith of *Tans* all that obey'd not; with such a terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Army, though much hinderd by tempestuous weather, had the leasure to build Forts and Castles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppose them. Besides, *Agri- cola* had this excellence in him, so providently to choose his places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No sconce, or fortress of his raising was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yeilded up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by seige, or in that case duely releev'd, with continual irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemy, whose manner was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had lost, was now alike in both seasons kept short, and streit'n'd. For these exploits then esteem'd so great, and honourable, *Titus* in whose *Dion. E. 66.* Reign they were archeev'd, was the fifteenth time saluted Imperator; and of him *Agri- cola* receav'd

81.

82.

triumphal honours. The fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruling the Empire, he spent in settling and, confirming what the year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest. And had the valour of his Souldiers bin answerable, he had reach'd that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of *Britain*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburrow*; two opposite Armes of the Sea, divided only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemy driv'n as it were into another

83.

Iland. In his fift year he pass'd over into the *Orca-des*, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch Iles; discovering and subdueing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of *Britain* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming also to conquer that Iland; where one of the Irish Kings driv'n out by civil Warrs, comming to him, he both gladly receav'd, and retain'd him as against a fitt time. The

84.

Summer ensueing, on mistrust that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally rise, and forelay the passages by land, he caus'd his Fleet, makeing a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joyning most commonly at night on the same shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight whereof the *Britans*, not wont to see thir Sea so ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the *Caledonians* with great preparation, and by rumor, as of things unknown much greater, taking Armes, and of thir own accord begining Warr by the assault of sundry Castles, sent back some of thir fear to the *Romans* themselves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloaking thir fear under shew of sage advice, counsel'd the General to retreat back on this side *Bodotria*. He

in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, devided also his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the *Britans* quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, assaile by night with all thir Forces that part of the Roman Armie, which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp surpris'd between sleep and fear, had begun some Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to affright them with clamour, so ply'd them without respite, that by approach of day the *Roman* Ensigns glittering all about, had encompass'd the *Britans*: who now after a sharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, pursu'd a while by the Romans, that day else in all appearance had ended the Warr. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as farr as there was *British* ground. The *Britans* also not acknowledging the loss of that day to *Roman* valour, but to the policy of their Captaine, abated nothing of their stoutness; but arming thir youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of safety, in frequent assemblies, and by solemn covenants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of *Germans* having slain thir Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: and by tide or weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while their Ships held out, and as thir

*Dion. L. 66.*

skill serv'd them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Iland. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before sent his Navie to hover on the Coast, and with fundrie and uncertaine landings to divert and disunite the *Britans*, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherein also were many *Britans*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountaine *Grampius*, where the *Britishh*, above 30 thousand, were now lodg'd, and still encreasing: for neither would thir old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practis'd in Warr, and every one adorn'd with some badge, or cognisance of his warlike deeds long agoe. Of whom *Galgacus*, both by birth and merit the prime Leader, to thir courage, though of it self hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in detestation of servitude and the *Roman* yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight; testifi'd by thir shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the others side *Agricola* exhort his Souldiers to Victorie and Glorie; as much the Souldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them in this sort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings 3000 Horse, the Legions as a reserve, stood in array before the Camp; either to seise the Victorie won without their own hazard, or to keep up the Battaille if it should need. The *Britishh* powers on the Hill side, as might best serve for shew and terrour, stood in thir Battalions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the Hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of Horsemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over wing'd, stretches out his front,

though somewhat with the thinnest, in so much that many advis'd to bring up the Legions: yet he not altering, alights from his Horse, and stands on foot before the Ensigns. The fight began aloof, and the *Britans* had a certain skill with their broad swashing Swords and short Bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the Darts of their Enemies; and withall to send back showers of their own. Until *Agricola* discerning that those little Targets and unweildie Glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for close fight, to draw up, and come to handy-strokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long Tucks thrusting at the face, now with their piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for hast omitting further Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, seconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horse-men fly, the Charioters mixe themselves to fight among the Foot; where many of their Horse also fall'n in disorderly, were now more a mischief to their own, then before a terrour to their Enemies. The Battaille was a confus'd heap; the ground unequal; men, horses, Chariots crowded pell-mell; sometimes in little roome, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewness of their Enemies, came down again; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a strong Body of Horse, which he reserv'd for such a purpose, repell'd them back as fast: and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs.

Then were the *Romans* clearly Maisters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the *Britans* in whole Troops with weapons in thir hands, one while flying the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turn'd and slew, the rest so hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, with part of his Horse to alight and scowr the Woods, they had receiv'd a foyle in the midst of Victorie; but following with a close and orderly poursuit, the *Britans* fled again, and were totally scatter'd; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day 10 thousand fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with heat of youth and the fierceness of his Horse too far on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victorie, and the spoile they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandring about the field, both men and women, some lamenting, some calling thir lost friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forsaking, some burning thir own Houses; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injurie. Next day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of thir loss receav'd; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whether: such word the scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a Warr, the *Roman* General leads his Armie among the *Horrestians*; by whom Hostages being giv'n, he com-

mands his Admiral with a sufficient Navie to saile round the Coast of *Britain*: himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new conquer'd Nations, bestowes his Armie in their Winter-quarters. The Fleet also having fetch't a prosperous and speedy compass about the Ile, put in at the Haven *Trutulensis*, now *Richborrow* near *Camden*. *Sandwich*, from whence it first set out: and now *Juvenal*, likeliest, if not two years before, as was mention'd, *sat. 2.* the *Romans* might discover and subdue the Iles of *Orkney*; which others with less reason following *Eusebins* and *Orosius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great virtue was as punishable as op'n crime, won him hatred. *Dion. L. 66.* For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devis'd his ruin. *Agri- 86* *cola* therefore commanded home for doeing too much, of what he was sent to doe, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *salustius Lucullus*, or before him some other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legat of *Britain* under *Domitian*; but furdur of him, or ought else done here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Histories, that what *Agri- cola* won here, was soon after by *Domitian* either through want of valour lost, or through envy neglected. And *Juvenal* the Poet speaks of *Arviragus* in these days, and not before, King of *Britain*: who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to betalk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then also *Claudia Rufina* the Daughter of a *Britain*, and Wife of *Pudence* a Roman Senator,

*Spartianus*  
*in vit. Hadrian.*

122.

*Spartianus*  
*ibid.*

*Camden.*

*Pausan. archad.*

*Capitolin.*  
*vit. Anton.*

144.

*Capitolin.*  
*Marc. Ant.*  
*Philos.*

162.

*Digest. L. 36.*

nator, liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verse of *Martial* for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of *Britain*, is that when *Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, saith *Dion*, govern'd the Iland, a prime Souldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to suppress the Jews then in tumult, left things at such pass, as caus'd the Emperor in person to take a journey hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as *Augustus*, and *Tiberius* counsel'd to gird the Empire within moderate bounds; he rais'd a Wall with great stakes driv'n in deep, and fastn'd together, in manner of a strong mound, fourscore mile in length, to divide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*: no antient Author names the place, but old inscriptions, and ruin it self yet testifies where it went along between *Solway Frith* by *Carlisle*, and the mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quieted the Iland, took it for honour to be titl'd on his Coine, the Restorer of *Britain*. In his time also *Priscus Licinius*, as appears by an old inscription, was Lieutenant heer. *Antoninus Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever least patient of Foren servitude, breaking in upon *Genounia* (which *Camden* guessees to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*) part of the *Roman* Province, were with the loss of much territory driv'n back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Camden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edinborrow*; to hedge out incursions from the North. And *seius Saturninus*, as is collected from the digests, had charge heer of the *Roman* Navie. With like success did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperor by his Legate *Calphurnius Agricola* finish heer a new Warr: *Commodus* after him obteining the Empire. In his time, as among so many



different accounts may seem most probable, *Lucius* a suppos'd King in some part of *Britain*, the first of any King in *Europe*, that we read of, receav'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the first by publick Authority profess'd it: a high and singular grace from above, if sinceritie and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true sentence, *the first shall be last*. And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to King *Lucius* than common to the *Nation*; whose first professing by publick Authority was no real commendation of their true faith; which had appear'd more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profess'd without publick Authority or against it, might else have bin but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Storie is made the second by descent from *Marius*, *Marius* the Son of *Arviragus* is there said to have overthrowne the *Picts* then first coming out of *Scythia*, slain *Roderic* their King; and in sign of Victorie to have set up a monument of Stone in the Country since call'd *Westmaria*; but these things have no foundation. *Coilus*, the Son of *Marius*, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to *Eleutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter, as some of the Contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receave Christianitie. From whence two religious Doctors, nam'd in our *Chronicles* *Faganus* and *Derwvianns*, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: thence *Lucius* to have had the surname of *Leverman*, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then

first was the Christian Faith heer known, but eev'n from the later daies of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and thir prime Disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believ'd, Ecclesiastic Historians can best determin: as the best of them do, with little credit giv'n to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long reigne he was buried at *Gloster*; but dying without issue left the Kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony we find that the greatest Warr which in those days busy'd *Commodus*, was in this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, wasted wide; and both the Army and the Leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroy'd; which put the Emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, *Vlpinus Marcellus*. He a man endu'd with all nobleness of mind, frugal, temperate, mild, and magnanimous, in Warr bold and watchful, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes, what with his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this Warr that look'd so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whose departure the *Roman* Legions fell to sedition among themselves; 15 hundred of them went to *Rome* in name of the rest, and were so terrible to *Commodus* himself, as that to please them he put to death *Perennis* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which compliance they endeavour'd heer to set up another Empe-

Geff. Mon.

Dion. L. 72.

183

Lamprid. in  
comm.

186.

Emperor against him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who succeeded Governour, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and was fain at length to seek a dismissal from his charge. After him *Clo-dius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Souldiers made an Oration against Monarchie, by the appointment of *Commodus* was bid resign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in those troublesome times ensuing under the short reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to keep in his hands the Government of *Britain*; although *Septimius Severus* who next held the Empire, sent hither *Heraclitus* to displace him; but in vain, for *Albinus* with all the *British* powers and those of *Gallia* met *Severus* about *Lyons* in *France*, and fought a bloody Battail with him for the Empire, though at last vanquish'd and slain. The Government of *Britain*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies; till then one Legat was thought sufficient; the North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meata* rising in Arms, and the *Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, so hard beset, he was compell'd to buy his peace, and a few of Pris'ners with great Sums of money. But hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an end his other Warrs, he writes him plainly the state of things heer, that the *Britans* of the North made Warr upon him, broke into the Province, and harra's'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more aid, or himself in person. *Severus* though now much weak'nd with Age and the Gout, yet desirous to leav som memorial of his warlike achievements heer, as he had don in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means

*Capitolin. in Pert.*

*Capitolin. in Alb.*

193.

*Dion.*

*Did. Jul.*

*Spartian. in Sever.*

*Herod. L. 3.*

*Herod. L. 3.*

*Digest. L. 28. tit. 6.*

*Dion.*

*Herod. L. 3.*

his two Sons from the pleasures of *Rome*, and his Souldiers from idleness, with a mighty power far sooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britain*.

208.

The Northern people much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Embassadors to treat of peace, and to excuse thir former doings. The Emperor now loath to returne home without some memorable thing don, whereby he might assume to his other titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his answer and quick'ns his preparations ; till in the end, when all things were in readines to follow them, they are dismiss't without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rott'n Moars, that his Souldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day ; and the inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watrie places half naked.

209.

He also being past *Adrians* wall, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, fast'nd and fill'd up un-found and plashy Fens. Notwithstanding all this industrie us'd, the Enemie kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were most in straits and difficulties, sometimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambush cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midst of sloughs and quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus lost *Severus*, and by sickness in those noisome places, no less than 50 thousand men: and yet desisted not, though for weakness carried in a

Dion.

Litter, till he had march't through with his Armie to the utmost Northern verge of the Ile: and the *Britans* offering peace were compell'd to lose much of thir Country not before subject to the *Romans*. *severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a Wall cross the Iland from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the most magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence receav'd the stile of *Britannicus*; in length 132 Miles. *Orosius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain spaces many Towers, or Battlements. The place whereof som will have to be in *Scotland*, the same which *Lollus Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others affirm it only *Hadrians* work re-edifi'd; both plead Authorities and the ancient tract yet visible: but this I leave among the studious of these Antiquities to be discuss't more at large. While Peace held, the Empress *Julia* meeting on a time certain *British* Ladies, and discoursing with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, cast out a scoff against the looseness of our Iland Women; whose manner then was to use promiscuously the company of divers men. Whom straight the *British* Woman boldly thus answer'd: *Much better do we Britans fulfill the work of Nature than you Romans; we with the best men accustom op'nly; you with the basest commit private adulteries.* Whether she thought this answer might serve to justify the practice of her Countrey, as when vices are compar'd, the greater seems to justify the less, or whether the law and custom wherein she was bred, had wip't out of her conscience the better dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the shame; certain it is that whereas other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many Wives, the *Britans* altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous

210.  
*Spartianus*  
in *Sever.*

*Eutropii* Pe-  
an. *Oros.* l. 7.  
*Cassidor.*  
chro.  
*Buchanan.*

*Cesar.*

rous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was *Severus* return'd into the Province, then the *Britans* take Arms again. Against whom *Severus* worn out with labours and infirmity, sends *Antoninus* his eldest Son; expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his Fathers death, a safer Enemy then a Son, did the *Britans* not much detriment. Whereat *Severus* more overcome with grief than any other maladie, ended his life at *York*. After whose decease *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son concluding peace with the *Britans*, took Hostages and departed to *Rome*. The Conductor of all this Northern Warr *Scottish* Writers name *Donaldus*, he of *Monmouth* *Fulgenius*, in the rest of his relation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman* Empire declining apace, good Historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing. Under *Gordian* the Emperour we find by the Inscription of an Altar stone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd heer. Under *Galienus* we read there was a strong and general revolt from the *Roman* Legat. Of the 30 Tyrants which not long after took upon them the style of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marinus* are conjectured to have ris'n or born great sway in this Iland. Whence *Porphyrius* a Philosopher then living, said that *Britain* was a soil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the first Author that makes mention of the *Scottish* Nation. While *Frobus* was Emperor, *Bonofus* the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a *Spanyard*, though by descent a *Britan*, and a match-

211.  
*Spartianus*  
in *Sever*.

242.  
*Camd. Cumb.*

259.  
*Eumen. Pa-*  
*neg. Const.*  
267.  
*Camden.*

*Gildas.*

*Hieronym.*

282.  
*Vasisc. in*  
*Bonof.*

less drinker, nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups, having attained in warfare to high honours, and lastly in his charge over the *German* shipping, willingly, as was thought, miscarried, trusting on his power with the Western Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himself a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloodie fight at *Cullen*, vanquish't by *Probus* he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him for his much drinking; *Heer hangs a Tankard, not a man.* After this, *Probus* with much wisdom Zozim. l. 1. prevented a new rising heer in *Britain* by the severe loyaltie of *Victorinus* a *Moor*, at whose entreatie he had plac't heer that Governour which rebell'd. For the Emperor upbraiding him with the disloyaltie of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* undertaking to set all right again, hastes hither, and finding indeed the Governour to intend sedition, by som contrivance not mention'd in the storie, slew him, whose name som imagin to be *Cornelius Lelianus*. Camd. They write also that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Britans* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having subdu'd the *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, sent over many of them Zozimus. hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the *Romans* when any insurrection happen'd in the Ile. After whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Persians*, left *Carinus* one of his Sons to govern among other Western Provinces this Island with imperial authority; but him *Dioclesian* saluted Emperor by the Eastern Armies overcame and slew. About which time *Caraculus* a man of low parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who through all militarie degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then

283.  
*Vopisc. in*  
*Carin.*

284.  
*Aurel. victor.*  
*de Cesar.*

285.  
Eutrop. Oros.

Eumen. Pa-  
neg. 2.  
286.

Victor. En-  
trop.

291.

Buchanan.

Paneg. 2.

much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took from the *Pyrats*, neither restoring to the owners, nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himself, and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving rather at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent to be less than an Emperor: for fear and guiltiness in those days made Emperors offer than merit: And understanding that *Muximianus Herculinus*, *Dioclesians* adopted Son, was com against him into *Gallia*, pass'd over with the Navie which he had made his own, into *Britain*, and possess'd the Iland. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* fashion, got into his power the Legion that was left heer in Garrison, other outlandish Cohorts detain'd, list'd the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with the allurement of spoile invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to his part, and train'd them to Sea service, wherein the *Romans* at that time were grown so out of skill, that *Carausius* with his Navie did at Sea what he list'd, robbing on every Coast; whereby *Maximian*, able to come no neerer than the shoar of *Boloigne*, was forc't to conclude a Peace with *Carausius*, and yeild him *Britain*; as one fittest to guard the Province there against inroads from the North. But not long after having assum'd *Constantius Chlorus* to the dignity of *Cesar*, sent him against *Carausius*; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the Land and without. *Galfred of Monmouth* writes that he made the *Picts* his confederates; to whom lately com out of *Scythia* he gave *Albany* to dwell in: and it is observ'd that before his time the *Picts* are not known to have bin any where mentioned, and then first by *Eumenius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of *Severus* with 7 Castles, and a round House of smooth



stone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, saith *Nin-nius*, was of his Name so call'd; he built also a Triumphant Arch in remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In *France* he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his permission seated themselves in *Belgia*, were at his devotion. But *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who ere *Constantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously by *Alectus* one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his place; when he 7 years, and worthily, as some say, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Island. So much the more did *Constantius* prosecute that opportunity, before *Alectus* could well strengthen his Affairs: and though in ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from several Hav'ns to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting neer the Ile of *Wight*, no sooner got a shoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* also, though now much dismay'd, transfers his fortune to a Battel on the shoar; but encountred by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his Treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the *Romans*, but great execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to *London*, and purposing with the pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another

Paneg. Si-  
gonius.

292.

Camd. ex  
Nin. Emmen.  
Pan. 3.

nother part of the *Roman* Armie, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britans*, thir Wives also and Children, with great joy go out to meet *Constantius*, as one whom they acknowledge their deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantius* household, to have bin don in the course of one continu'd action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of *Alektus*. In these days were great store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Iland, whom after the alteration of things heer, the *Æduans* in *Burgundie* entertain'd to build thir Temples and publick Edifices. *Dioclesian* having hitherto successfully us'd his valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his rage in a bloodie persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this Iland, though most remote, far anough remov'd. Among them heer who suffer'd gloriously, *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caerleon* upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The story of whose Martyrdom soil'd, and worse martyr'd with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deserves not longer digression. *Constantius* after *Dioclesian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britain* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with victorie from an expedition against the *Caledonians*, he di'd at *York*. His Son *Constantine*, who happily came Post from *Rome* to *Boloigne* just about the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-

Eumen.

Gildas.

Author ig-  
nor. post Mar-  
cellin. valesii  
306  
Eutrop. Eum-  
en. idem  
Auth. ignot.

bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army saluted Emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own Hiltorians, though not those the ancientest, that *Constantine* was born in this Iland, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of *Coilus* a *British* Prince, not sure the Father of King *Lucius*, whose Sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by an hunderd years to be the Mother of *Constantine*. But to salve this incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colchester*. To this therefore the *Roman* Authors give no testimony, except a passage or two in the *Panegyrics*, about the sense whereof much is argu'd: others neereft to those times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of *Helena*, a mean Woman at *Naisus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, ere his departure hence he seems to have had some bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent affairs compos'd, he passes into *Gallia*; and after 4 years returns either to settle or to alter the state of things heer; until a new Warr against *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his Vicegerent. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alpes*, this Iland also. But falling to Civil Warr with *Constantians* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother *Constantius* coming into *Britain*, seisd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his chief Commanders, by som affirm'd the Son of a *Britan*, he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantius* in many Battels for the sole Empire; but vanquish't, in the end slew himself. Somwhat before this time *Gratianus Funariu*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had chief

*Coil. 2*

*Idem vit.*  
*Auth. ignot.*  
*Euseb.*  
*Const.*

307.  
*Sigon.*  
311.  
*Camd.*

*Ammian. L.*  
*20. & in eum*  
*Valesius.*  
34c.  
*Libanius in*  
*Basilico.*

343.  
*Camd. ex*  
*Firmico.*  
350.  
*Camden.*  
353.

Ammian.

359.

command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept heer. And the *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Iland no small disturbance: a Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantius* appointed a *Synod* of more than 400 Bishops to assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperors charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British*, poverty constreining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born thir charges: esteeming it more honourable to live on the publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the publick stipend, but lik'd not the poverty that caus'd these to do so. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the cruelty which *Paulus*, an inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an accessory; at which enrag'd he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guess'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* had made *Cesar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had long insulted, to releeve those Countries almost ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britain*; which ev'n then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirats hinderd not the transportation. While *Constantius* yet reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in

Liban. Orat.

10. Zozim.

L. 3.

Marcel. L. 18

Amm. l. 23.

360.

## Book 2. *The History of England.*

91

*Amm. L. 20.*

364.  
*Amm. L. 26.*

27.

367.

in upon the Northern confines, *Julian*, being at *Paris*, sends over *Lupicinus*, a well try'd Souldier, but a proud and covetous man; who with a power of light arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Mæssians*, in the midst of Winter sailing from *Boloigne*, arrives at *Rutupia* seated on the opposite shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the Warr; but soon after was recall'd by *Julian* then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happening heer; only that *Palladius* one of his great Officers was hither banish'd. This year *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* roaving up and down, and last the *Saxons* with perpetual landings and invasions harried the South Coast of *Britain*; slew *Nectaridius* who govern'd the Sea Borders, and *Bulchobaudes* with his Forces by an ambush. With which news *Valentinian* not a little perplext, sends first *Severus* high Steward of his House, and soon recalls him, then *Jovinus*, who intimating the necessity of greater supplies, he sends at length *Theodosius*, a man of try'd valour, and experience, father to the first Emperor of that Name. He with selected numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts, crosses the Sea from *Boloigne* to *Rutupia*; from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and other Legions that arriv'd soon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and plundering Enemy, lad'n with spoile; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with thir lives, he restores all to the right owners, save a small portion to his wearied Souldiers, and enters *London* victoriously; which before in many straits and difficulties, was now reviv'd as with a great deliverance. The numerous

Enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the Warr scatter'd: which *Theodosius*, getting daily som intelligence from fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden parties and surprisals rather than set Battels; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to such as would lay down Arms, and accept of peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that *Civilis*, a man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as Deputy of the Island, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodosius* busy'd, besetting with ambushes the roaving Enemy, repressing his Rodes, restoring Cities and Castles to thir former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when *Valentinus* a *Pannonian* for some great offence banish'd into *Britain*, conspiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers against *Theodosius*, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the Ile into his power, is discover'd, and with his chief accomplices deliver'd over to condign punishment: against the rest, *Theodosius* with a wise lenity suffer'd not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettl'd. This don, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the confines many strong holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches; and so reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London* *Angusta*. Thus *Theodosius* nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-side, returns

to

368.  
*Amm. L. 28.*  
*Zozim. L. 4.*

to *Valentinian*. Who about 5 years after sent hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good service were in high esteem. Against *Gratian* who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus* a *Spanyard*, and one who had serv'd in the *British* Warrs with younger *Theodosius* (for hee also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this Iland) and now General of the *Roman* Armies heer, either discontented that *Theodosius* was preferr'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Souldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the imperial Purple, and having attain'd Victorie against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the flowr and strength of *Britain*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gratian*, and without much difficultie, the space of 5 years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and slain by *Theodosius*. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, which *Maximus* had giv'n them to possess, the South of *Britain* by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of *Roman* Souldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a prey to savage Invasions; of *Scots* from the *Irish* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North. Against them, first *Chrysanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a Bishop, made Deputy of *Britain* by *Theodosius*, demean'd himself worthily: then *Stilicho* a man of great power, whom *Theodosius*, dying, left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in person, or sending over sufficient aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortifi'd the Wall against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the *Roman* Armies from all parts hasted

373.  
*Amm. L. 29.*

*Zozim. L. 4.*  
*Sigon.*

*Prosser. A.*  
*quitanic.*  
*chron.*  
383.

*Gildas.*  
388.

*Beda.*  
*Nim.*

389.

*Socrat. L. 7.*

*Claudian. de*  
*laud. sil. l. 2.*  
*& de bello*  
*Get.*

402.

to releive *Honorius* then besieg'd in *Asta* of *Piemont*, by *Alaric* the *Goth*, *Britain* was left expos'd as before, to those Barbarous Robbers. Lest any wonder how the *Scots* came to infest *Britain* from the *Irish* Sea, it must be understood, that the *Scots* not many years before had been driv'n all out of *Britain* by *Maximus*; and thir King *Eugenius* slain in fight; as thir own Annals report: whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and shoars as Pyrats. But more authentic Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia* long before the North of *Britain* took that name. About this time, though troublefom, *Pelagius* a *Britan* found the leasure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by *St. Austin*. But the *Roman* powers which were call'd into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into several Provinces: and perhaps *Victorinus* of *Tolosa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Iland: if it were not he whom *Stilicho* sent hither. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* into a Province, he gave the occasion of thir calling back *Fergusius* and the *Scots*, whom *Maximus* with thir help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have bin active in those parts. But the time which is assign'd him later by *Buchanan* after *Gratianus Municeps*, by *Camden*, after *Constantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of History. For the *Vandals* having broke in and wasted all

*Ethelwerd.*  
*Sax. an.*  
*Bede Epit. in*  
*the year 565*  
*and Bede, L.*  
*2.c.4.*

405.

407.

*Zozim. L. 6.* *Belgia*, eev'n to those places from whence easiest pas-



sage is into *Britain*, the *Roman* Forces heer, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up *Marcus*, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him not found agreeable to thir heady courses, they as hastily kill: for the giddy favour of a mutining rout is as dangerous as thir furie. The like they do by *Gratian* a *British Roman*, in four Months advanc't, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Souldier whose name was *Constantine*, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of a luckiness in his name, as without other visible merit to create him Emperor. It fortun'd that the man had not his name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wak'n'd spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the Province, and what of *British* was able to bear Arms, he passes into *France*, aspiring at least to an equal share with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where by the valour of *Edobecus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britan*, and partly by perswasion gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Constans*, whom of a Monk he had made a *Cesar*, and by the conduct of *Gerontius* he reduces all *Spain* to his obedience. But *Constans* after this displacing *Gerontius*, the affairs of *Constantine* soon went to wrack: for he by this means alienated, set up *Maximus* one of his friends against him in *Spain*; and passing into *France*, took *Vienna* by assault, and having slain *Constans* in that City, calls on the *Vandals* against *Constantine*; who by him in-

Sozom. L. 9.

Oros. L. 7.

408.

409.

Sozom. L. 9.

Olympiodor.  
apud Pho-  
tium.

cited, as by him before they had bin repress'd, breaking forward, over-run most part of *France*. But when *Constantius Comes*, the Emperors General, with a strong power came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deserted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*; where also growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of *France*, by whom his House in the night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his Darts and other Weapons were spent, he might have scap'd at a private dore, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnichia*, whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend *Alanus*, as was agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to outlive her Husband, he dispatches: for which her resolution *Sozomenus* an Ecclesiastic Writer gives her high praise, both as a Wife, and as a Christian. Last of all against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal place, with his pointard finishes the work. Thus farr is pursu'd the story of a famous *Britan*, related negligently by our other Historians. As for *Constantine*, his ending was not answerable to his setting out: for he with his other Son *Julian* beseig'd by *Constantius* in *Arles*, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing him, is carried into *Italy*, and there put to death; having 4 years acted the Emperor. While these things were doing, the *Britans* at home destitute of *Roman* aid, and the cheif strength of their own youth, that went first with *Maximus*, then with *Constantine*, not returning home, vext, and harras'd  
by

Gildas.  
Beda.

by thir wonted Enemies, had sent messāges to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it self, which the same year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letter to consult how best they might for their own safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* jurisdiction. They therefore thus relinquish't, and by all right the Government relapsing into thir own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after thir own Laws, defending thir bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britans* of *France*, follow'd thir Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; first in *Britain*, soon after in *Italy* it self: having born chief sway in this Iland, though never throughly subdu'd, or all at once in subjection, if we reck'n from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which year *Honorius* wrote those Letters of discharge into *Britain*, the space of 462 years. And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western World was cheifly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and eev'n Language it self, all these together, as it were, with equal pace diminishing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to stear by another sort of Authors; neer enough to the things they write, as in thir own Countrie, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: this we must expect; in civil matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and strook with superstition as with a Planet; in one word,

Zozim. L.6.

Procopius  
vandalic.Calvis.  
Sigon.

word, Monks. Yet these Guides, where can be had no better, must be follow'd; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstance each man as his judgment gives him, may reserve his Faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.

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THE

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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The Third Book.

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**T**His third Book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary, as the intermission or change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late civil broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the *Britans* then were in, when the imperial jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of thir own Councils; which times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy with this intereign, we may be able from

two such remarkable turns of State, producing like events among us, to raise a knowledge of our selves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the *Britans* generally are in matters of so high enterprise, how by nature, industry, or custom fitted to attempt or undergoe matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries, and encomiums, for want of self knowledge, to enterprise rashly and come off miserably in great undertakings. The *Britans* thus as we heard being left without protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in Warrs abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves through long subjection, servile in mind, sloathful of body, and with the use of Arms unacquainted, sustained but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of change, and to be thought the leading Nation to freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestir them with a shew of diligence in thir new affairs, some secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the wisdom, the virtue, the labour, to use and maintain true libertie, they soon remitted thir heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of thir own libertie, than before under a foren yoke. Inasmuch that the residue of those *Romans* which had planted themselves heer, despairing of thir ill deportment at home, and weak resistance in the field by those few who had the courage,

Gild. Bede.  
Malins.

Zozim. L. 6.

or the strength to bear Arms, nine years after the sack-  
ing of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britain* into *France*, hid-  
ing for haste great part of thir treasure, which was  
never after found. And now again the *Britans*, no  
longer able to support themselves against the pre-  
vailing Enemy, solicit *Honorius* to thir aid, with  
mournful Letters, Embassages and vows of perpe-  
tual subjection to *Rome* if the *Northern* Foe were but  
repuls'd. He at thir request spares them one Legi-  
on, which with great slaughter of the *Scots* and  
*Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, rescu'd the  
*Britans*, and advis'd them to build a Wall cross the  
Iland, between Sea and Sea, from the place where  
*Edinburg* now stands to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by  
the City *Alcluth*. But the material being only  
Turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built  
up without better direction, avail'd them little.  
For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the  
greedy spoilers returning, land in great numbers  
from thir Boats and Pinaces, wasting, slaying, and  
treading down all before them. Then are messen-  
gers again posted to *Rome* in lamentable sort, beseech-  
ing that they would not suffer a whole Province to  
be destroy'd, and the *Roman* name, so honourable  
yet among them, to become the subject of barbarian  
scorn and insolence. The Emperor, at thir sad com-  
plaint, with what speed was possible sends to thir  
succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous  
multitudes that minded only spoil, surprise them with  
a terrible slaughter. They who escap'd, fled back  
to those Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to  
arrive, and return lad'n with booties. But the *Ro-  
mans* who came not now to rule, but charitably to  
aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease  
of thir Affairs to make such laborious voyages in

418.  
*Ethelwerd.*  
*annal. Sax.*

*Gildas.*

422.  
*Diacoms.*  
L. 14.

*Bede. L. 1.*  
c. 2.

*Gildas.*

423-

pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage thir own warfare; and to defend like men thir Country, thir Wives, thir Children, and what was to be dearer than life, thir liberty, against an Enemy not stronger than themselves, if thir own sloth and cowardise had not made them so; if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive Arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive bonds. They gave them also thir help to build a new Wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions) traversing the Ile in direct line from East to West between certain Cities plac'd there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it 12 Foot high, 8 broad. Along the South shoar, because from thence also like hostility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea side at certain distances, for safety of the Coast. Withall they instruct them in the art of Warr, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda*, and *Diaconus*, the two last years of *Honorius*. Thir Leader, as som modernly write, was *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predecessor *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings against him to this Battel *Fergus* first King of *Scots* after thir second suppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Dursus* King of *Picts*, both there slain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Eritain*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbable sided

Bede *ibid.**Gildas.*

Blond.

*Sabellic.*



with them against his own Countrey, hardlie escaping. With no less exactness of particular circumstances, he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuarie in-  
Buch. L. 5.  
rodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, as if they had but yesterday happen'd, thir order of Battel, manner of fight, number of slain, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be believ'd for bare assertions, however quaintlie drest, than our *Geoffry of Monmouth* when he varies most from authentick storie. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond zeal of praising thir Nations above truth hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off thir Historie, or magnifie thir Countrey.

The *Scots* and *Picts* in manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoile, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return, from thir Gorroghs, or Leathern Frigats pour out themselves in swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very wall side, then first took possession as inhabitants; while the *Britans* with idle Weapons in thir hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leavethem to the bloodie pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a Famine, and from thence discord and civil commotion among the *Eritans*: each man living by what he rob'd or took violently from  
Gildas. Bede.

his Neighbour. When all stores were consum'd and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was thir only sustainment. To the heaps of these evils from without, were added new divisions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Bishop had spread his Doctrine wide among the *Britans* not uninfected before. The sounder part neither willing to embrace his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able to refute him, crave assistance from the Churches of *France*: who send them *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Trojes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without miracles, as is writt'n, confirm'd som, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a public disputation put to silence thir chief adversaries. This reformation in the Church was beleev'd to be the cause of thir success a while after in the field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joint force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at least had any dwelling in this Iland, during the abode of *Germanus* heer, had made a strong impression from the North. The *Britans* marching out against them, and mistrusting thir own power, send to *Germanus* and his Colleague, reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two men, than in thir own thousands arm'd. They came, and thir presence in the Camp was not less than if a whole Army had com to second them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the people instructed by the daily Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receive Baptism. There was a place in the Camp set apart as a Church, and trick'd up with boughs upon *Easter-day*. The Enemy understanding this, and that the *Britans* were tak'n up with Religions more than with feats of Arms,

Bede.  
Constantius.

429.  
Prosper. Aquit.

Math. West.  
ad ann. 446.

430.

Constant. vit.  
German.

Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victorie. *German* who also had intelligence of thir approach, undertakes to be Captain that day; and riding out with selected Troops to discover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a Valley compass't about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing there his ambush, warns them that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which answered by the Souldiers with a sudd'n burst of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Host, throw themselves into flight, casting down thir Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victory, thus won without hands, left to the *Britans* plenty of spoile, and to the person and the preaching of *German* greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if *Constantius*, the Writer of his life in the next age, had resolv'd us how the *British* Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganism at that time, or long before, in the Land we read not, or that *Pelagianism* was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire* by a Town call'd *Guid-cruc*, and the River *Allen*, where a field retains the name of *Maes German* to this day. But so soon as *German* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though now so many of them Christians, that *Palladius* a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by *Celestine* the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing mischief to thir Neighbours, where they found

*Usser: Primord p. 333.*

<sup>431.</sup>  
*Prosp. Aquit.*

*Ethelwerd.  
Florent.  
Gild. Bede.*

Malmsbury  
L. 1. c. 1. p. 8.  
446.

no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the *Britans* who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west parts of the Ile, send Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Consul of *Rome*, with this superscription; *To Ætius thrice Consul, the groanes of the Britans*. And after a few words thus: *The barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two deaths we perish, either by the Sword or by the Sea*. But the Empire at that time overspread with *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods, and Mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out at length gave a stop to the insulting Foe with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in thir own strength, but in Divine assistance. And perhaps no other heer is meant than the foresaid deliverance by *German*, if computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long heer, the Writers of his life assent not. Finding therefore such opposition, the *Scots* or *Irish* Robbers, for so they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Picts*, as before was mentioned, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Iland, using now and then to make inrodes upon the *Britans*. But they in the mean while thus ridd of thir Enemies, begin afresh to till the ground; which after cession yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not

*Gildas.*

formerly bin known for many Ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as fast, and with them, if *Gildas* deserve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the Land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac'd for good, wickedness honour'd and esteem'd as virtue. And this quality thir valour had, against a foren Enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the search of truth, weak and shallow, in falsehood and wicked deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weigh'd alike; and the worse most an end was the weightier. All things were done contrary to public welfare and safety; nor only by secular men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vitious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness; or swoln with pride and willfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscreet, incompetent Judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish'd with judgment, and for manners thus qualify'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to chuse them several Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of Gods anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining

447.  
Constant.  
Bede.

448.  
Sigon.  
Gildas.

Malmf. L. 1.

the truth, put to death by thir anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the *Romans* had quite deserted thir claim. About which time also *Pelagianism* again prevailing by means of some few, the *British* Clergie too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time *German* to thir assistance. Who coming with *Severus* a Disciple of *Lupus* that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all were deliver'd to *German*; who carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But *Germanus* the same year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britans* not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour that thir old troublers the *Scots* and *Picts* had prepar'd a strong invasion, purposing to kill all and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But ere thir coming in, as if the instruments of Divine justice had bin at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation, the Pestilence forestalling the Sword left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preserv'd the Land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessioners, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter farr. And yet the *Britans* nothing better'd by these heavy judgments, the one threatn'd, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace

of thir King *Vortigern* with complaints and cries of what they suddenly fear'd, from the *Pictish* invasion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the rest had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is said by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the death first of *Constantine*, then of *Constance* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have usurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Constantine* with his Son *Constance* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæsar*, perish'd in *France*, may discern the simple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the people much belov'd, because his vices sort'd so well with theirs. For neither was he skill'd in Warr, nor wise in Counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; wasting the public Treasure in gluttony and riot, careless of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importun'd and awak'd at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general Council, to provide some better means than heertofore had been us'd against these continual annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britain* against the *Scots* and *Picts*; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all thir Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witness that military force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd heer purposely against them, under a special Com-

mander.

Notitia im-  
perii.

Florent.  
Wigorn. ad  
an. 370.

Ethelwerd.

mander, whose title, as is found, on good record, was Count of the *Saxon* shoar in *Britain*; and the many mischiefs done by thir landing heer, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath bin related, witness as much. They were a people thought by good Writers, to be descended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythian* in the North of *Asia*, thence call'd *Sacasons*, or Sons of *Sacæ*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and using Pyracry from *Denmark* all along these Seas, possess'd at length by intrusion all that Coast of *Germany* and the *Nether-lands*, which took thence the name of old *Saxony*, lying between the *Rhene* and *Elve*, and from thence North as far as *Eidora*, the River bounding *Holsatia*, though not so firmly, or so largely, but that thir multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation. Such guests as these the *Britans* resolve now to send for, and entreat into thir houses and possessions, at whose very name heertofore they trembl'd afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heaviest which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater: as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one misery to another.

Ethelwerd.  
Malmsb.  
Witichind.  
gest. Sax.  
L. 1. p. 3.

The *Britans* therefore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over them all, resolve in full Council to send Embassadors of thir choicest men with great gifts, and saith a *Saxon* Writer in these words, desiring thir aid. *Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame of your promises, the distressed Britans wearied out, and overprest by a continual invading Enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. They have a Land fertile*



and spacious, which to your commands they bid us surrender. Heertofore we have liv'd with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your selves; and therefore become suppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our present Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly we shall submit. Yet *Ethelweld* writes not that they promis'd subjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them, hearing themselves entreated by the *Britans*, to that which gladly they would have wish't to obtain of them by entreating, to the *British* Embassy return this answer. Be assur'd henceforth of the *Saxons*, as of faithful friends to the *Britans*, no less ready to stand by them in thir need, than in thir best of fortune. The Embassadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to thir Countrey, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction. The *Saxons*, consulting first thir Gods (for they had answer, that the Land whereto they went, they should hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a chos'n company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, descended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his acts, most Kings of those Nations derive thir pedigree. These, and either mixt with these, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring people, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleswich*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arrive in the first year of *Martian* the Greek Emperor, from the birth of Christ 450, receav'd with much good will of the people first, then of the King, who after some assurances

Malmf.

Whickind.

Gildas.

Be. le.

450.  
Nennius.  
Malmf.

rances giv'n and tak'n, bestows on them the Ile of *Tanet*, where they first landed, hoping they might be made heerby more eager against the *Picts*, when they fought as for thir own Countrie, and more loyal to the *Britans*, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *British Nennius* writes that these Brethren were driv'n into exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reigned in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambrosius*, came opportunely into the Hav'n. For it was the custom in old *Saxony*, when thir numerous off-spring overflow'd the narrowness of thir bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings, wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forc't. But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt not heer long without employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, som say, as far as *Stamford* in *Lincoln-shire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: slaying in fight, as some *Scotch* Writers affirm, thir King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengist* percaeving the Iland to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other inhabitants giv'n to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with 17 Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without suspicion on these terms, that they should bear the brunt of War against the *Picts*, receaving stipend and some place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of *Hengist*, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Romen* the *British* call her: she by commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in presence with a Bowle of Wine to welcome him, and

Malmsh.

Henry Huntingd.

Ethelwerd.

Bed. Nin.

Nenn.

to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in marriage upon any conditions. *Hengist* at first, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excusing his meanness; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it streit by donation: though *Guoragonus* till then was King of that place: and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of *Vortiger*, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the Kings favour, got further leave to call over *Osta* and *Ebissa*, his own and his Brothers Son; pretending that they, if the North were giv'n them, would sit there as a continual defence against the *Scots*, while himself guarded the East. They therefore sayling with forty Ships eev'n to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, possess'd that part of the Ile which is now *Northumberland*. Notwithstanding this they complain that thir monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the *Britans* found means to satisfy, though alleging withall that they to whom promise was made of wages, were nothing so many in number, quieted with this a while, but still seeking occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that thir pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatening op'n Warr unless it be augmented. *Guortimer* the Kings Son perceiving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*, wasted without resistance almost the whole Land eev'n to the Western Sea, with such a horrid devastation, that Towns and Colonies over-

*Gildas. Bed.  
Nun.*

turn'd, Priests and people slain, Temples, and Palaces, what with fire and Sword lay alltogether heap'd in one mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfullness that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none werelike to be other then lew'd and wicked persons. The residue of these, part overtak'n in the Mountains were slain; others subdu'd with hunger preferr'd slavery before instant death; som getting to Rocks, Hills, and Woods inaccessible, preferr'd the fear and danger of any Death before the shame of a secure slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; some into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or seis'd on by those *Britans* in thir escape from *Hengist*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as som think, with *Britans* long before; either by guift of *Constantine the Great*, or else of *Maximus* to those *British* Forces which had serv'd them in Forein Wars; to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*; and lastly, these exiles driv'n out by *Saxons*, fled for refuge. But the ancient Chronicles of those Provinces attest thir coming thither to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the name of *Britain* in *France* is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of fugitives who had quitted without stroke thir own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unless joyn'd to som party of thir own settl'd there before. *Vortiger* nothing better'd by these calamities, grew at last so obdurat as to commit incest with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For which beeing censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clercs*, and *Laics*, and partly for

*Primord.*  
*pag.* 418.

*Malms. L. 1.*  
*c. 1.*  
*Huntingd.*  
*L. 1.*

*Ninn.*  
*Malmsb.*

fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire* by the advice of *Ambrosius* a young prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Nevertheless *Fausfus*, who was the Son thus incestuously begott'n under the instructions of *German*, or some of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a religious man, and liv'd in devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Clamorganshire*. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easy to subdue the Ile, with most of thir Forces, uncertain for what cause, return'd home : when as the easiness of thir Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortemir*. For he coming to Reigne, instead of his Father depos'd for incest, is said to have thrice driv'n and beseig'd the *Saxons* in the Ile of *Taneth*; and when they issu'd out with powerful supplies sent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them sower other Battells, wherof three are nam'd; the first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherin *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell, and on the *British* part *Catigern* the other Son of *Vortiger*. The third in a Feild by *Stonar* then call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have so scap'd and not venturing to land again for 5 years after. In the space wherof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perswaded that his bones lying there would be terror enough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that place: they, saith *Nimmius*, neglecting his command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning thesetimes, antientest annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the year 455. *Hengist* and *Horsa* fought against *Vortigern*, in a place called *Eglesthrif*, now

Nim.

Gildas.

Ninn.

455.  
Bede.

Ethelwera.

Florent.

Annal. Sax.

The King-  
dome of  
Kent.

now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horsa* lost his life, of whom *Horsted*, the place of his burial, took name.

457.

465.

473.

After this first Battel and the Death of his Brother, *Hengist* with his Son *Esa* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who also then or not long after possess'd the Ile of *Wight*, and part of *Hampshire* lying opposite. Two years after in a fight at *Creganford*, or *Crasford*, *Hengist* and his Son slew of the *Britans* four Cheif Commanders, and as many thousand men: the rest in great disorder flying to *London*, with the total loss of *Kent*. And 8 years passing between, he made new Warr on the *Britans*; of whom in a Battel at *Wippeds-fleet*, 12 Princes were slain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last encounter was at a place not mention'd, where he gave them such an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to thir Enemies. And these perhaps are the 4 Battells, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by these Writers far differently related; and happ'ning besides many other bickerings, in the space of 20 years, as *Malmsbury* reck'ns. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withall in *Kent*, thir own allotted dwelling, and somtimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word *Wippeds-fleet* seems to intimat. But *Guortemir* now dead, and none of courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern* either by the power of his faction, or by consent of all, reassumes the Government: and *Hengist* thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restorement of his old favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son

*Nennius.*

in Law, now that the only Author of dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The King both for his Wives sake and his own sottishness, consulting also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yeilds; and the place of parly is agree'd on; to which either side was to répair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch-word was *Nemet eour Saxas*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britans* were throughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by som affront, dispatch'd with those Poniards every one his next man, to the number of 300. the cheif of those that could do ought against him either in Counsel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, untill he granted them for his ransome three Provinces, which were called afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*. Who thus dismiss'd, retiring again to his solitary abode in the Country of *Guorthigirniun*, so call'd by his name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in *North-Wales*, by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Towre by fire from Heav'n at the Praiër, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelian*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint or of thir own accord after much mischeif don, most of them returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the *Britans* of avenging themselves the easier on those that staid behinde. Repenting therefore, and

Malmf.

Nin. ex legend St. Ger.  
Galfrid.  
Monmouth.

with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a vertuous and modest man, the last heer of *Roman* stock, advancing now onward against the late *Victors*, defeat them in a memorable Battell. Common opinion, but grounded cheifly on the *British* Fables, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Constance* the Monk: who both lost thir lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the exprefs words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assures us that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* having heer born regal dignity, were slain in these *Pictish* Wars and commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his right. I perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin*: for that Child without Father that propheci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambrose*, makes him the Son of a Roman Consul; but conceal'd by his mother, as fearing that the King therfore sought his life; yet the youth no sooner had confess'd his parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britain*; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first, according to surest Authors, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have writt'n. This is certain, that in a time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans* gather'd strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against thir whole powers, the second time returning obtain'd this Victory. Thus *Ambrose* as cheif Monarch of the Ile succeeded

*Gildas. Bed.*



*Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in *Wales*, *Buelth*, and *Guorthigirniann*. In his daies, saith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much: against whom *Arthur*, as beeing then Cheif General for the *British* Kings, made great War; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, then in true stories. And the sequel it self declares as much. For in the year 477. *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Cissa*, at a place in *Suffex* call'd *Cymenshore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britans*, chasing them that remain'd into the Wood *Andreds* League. Another Battell was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamsted*, wherein *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* makes it so doubtful, that the *Saxons* were constrain'd to send home for supplies. Four year after dy'd *Hengist* the first *Saxon* King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather then proceeding by mildness or civility. His Son *Oeric* surnam'd *Oisc*, of whom the *Kentish* Kings were call'd *Oiscings*, succeeded him, and sate content with his Fathers winnings; more desirous to settle and defend, then to enlarge his bounds: he reign'd 24 years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Cissa*, beseiging *Andredchester*, suppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword.

Thus *Ella* 3 years after the death of *Hengist*, began his Kingdome of the South-Saxons; peopling it with new inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, at this day *Holstein* in *Denmark*, and had besides at his command all those Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this side *Humber*. Animated with these good successes, as if *Britain* were become now the field of Fortune, *Kerdic* another *Saxon*

Ninn.

477.

Sax. an.

Ethelw.

Florent.

485.

Florent.

Huntingd.

489.

489.

Malmf.

Bed. L. 2.

c. 5.

c. 5.

c. 5.

c. 5.

c. 5.

c. 5.

492.

Camden.

The King-

dome of

South-Sax-

ons.

Bed. L. 1. c.

15. &amp; L. 2.

c. 5.

c. 5.

c. 5.

c. 5.

Sax. an.  
omn.

495.

*Saxon Prince*, the tenth by Linage from *Woden* an old and practis'd Souldier, who in many prosperous conflicts against the Enemy in those parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of *Kerdic-shoar*, with 5 Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very same day overthrew the *Britans* that oppos'd him; and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large territory. After

501.

Sax. an. omn.

Huntingd.

him *Porta* another *Saxon* with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships arrive at *Portsmouth* thence call'd, and at thir landing slew a young *British* Nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them.

508.

Annal. omn.

Huntingd.

Camden.

The *Britans* to recover what they had lost, draw together all thir Forces led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britain*, and the greatest faith one; but him with 5000 of his men *Kerdic* puts to rout and slaies. From whence the place in *Hantsire*, as far as *Kerdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*. Who this King should be, hath bred much question; som think it to be the *British* name of *Ambrose*; others to be the right name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the Welch Tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in *Eritain* there were as *Uther Pendragon*, for so also the *Monmouth* Book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. *Kerdic* by so great a blow giv'n to the *Britans* had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends, as he desir'd to make great; for which cause, and withall the more to strengthen himself; his two Nefews *Stuf*, and *Withgar*, in 3 Vessels bring him new levies to *Kerdic shoar*. Who

Camd. Vsf.  
primord.

514.

An. omn.

that they might not come fluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by thir own seeking, or by appointment, are set in place where they could not but at thir first coming give proof of themselves upon the Enemy : and so well they did it, that the *Britans* after a hard encounter left them Maisters of the field. About the same time, *Ella* the first *South-Saxon* King dy'd ; whom *Cissa* his youngest succeeded ; the other two failing before him. *Huntingdon*

Nor can it be much more or less then about this time, for it was before the *West-Saxon* Kingdome, that *Uffa* the 8th. from *Woden* made himself King of the *East-Angles* ; who by thir name testifie the Country above mention'd ; from whence they came in such multitudes, that thir native soil is said to have remain'd in the daies of *Beda* uninhabited. *Huntingdon* deferrs the time of thir coming in, to the ninth year of *Kerdic's* Reigne : for saith he, at first many of them strove for principality, seising every one his Province, and for som while so continu'd making petty Warrs among themselves ; till in the end *Uffa*, of whom those Kings were call'd *Uffings*, overtop'd them all in the year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, who became potent. *The King-  
dom of East-  
Angles.*  
*Malmf. L. 1.  
c. 5.  
Bed. L. 1.  
c. 15.  
Huntingd.  
L. 2. p. 313.  
315.  
Bede L. 2.  
c. 15.  
Malmf. L. 1.  
c. 6.*

And not much after the *East-Angles*, began also the *East-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have it later by 11 years, and *Erchenwin* to be the first King. *The King-  
dom of East-  
Saxons.*

*Kerdic* the same in power, though not so fond of title, forbore the name 24 Years after his arrival ; but then founded so firmly the Kingdome of *West-Saxons*, that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole Monarchie of *England*. The same year he had a Victory against the *Britans* at *Kerdic's*. *519.  
The King-  
dom of  
West-Sax-  
ons.  
Sax. an. omn.*

Ford, by the River *Aven*: and after 8 years, another great fight at *Kerdics* Leage, but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath bin collected what there is of certainty with circumstance of time and place to be found register'd, and no more then barely register'd in annals of best note; without describing after *Huntingdon* the manner of those Battels and Encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of Books, may be confident he never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this disease hath bin incident to many more Historians: and the age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more then any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharg'd with all the idle fancies of posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these Wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the *British* valour, as declares the *Saxons* in his time and before to have bin foyl'd not seldom er then the *Britans*. For besides that first Victory of *Ambrosè*, and the interchangeable success long after, he tells that the last overthrow which they receav'd at *Badon* Hill, was not the least; which they in thir oldest annals mention not at all. And because the time of this Battell, by any who could do more then guess, is not set down, or any foundation giv'n from whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wideto insert it in this place. For such Authors as we have to follow, give the conduct and praise of this exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the last of 12 great Battells which he fought victoriously against the *Saxons*. The several places writt'n by *Nennius* in thir Welch names, were many hunder'd years ago unknown, and so heer omitted. But who *Arthur* was,

Nim.

and whether ever any such reign'd in *Britain*, hath bin doubted heertofore, and may again with good reason. For the Monk of *Malsbury*, and others whose credit hath sway'd most with the learned sort, we may well perceave to have known no more of this *Arthur* 500 years past, nor of his doings, then we now living; And what they had to say, transcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already bin related. Or out of a *British* Book, the same which he of *Monmouth* set forth, utterly unknown to the World, till more then 600 years after the dayes of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent, both Foren and Domestic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old legends and Cathedrall regests. But he who can accept of Legends for good story; may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnish'd with two only necessities, leasure, and beleif, whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to *Artur*, no less is in doubt who was his Father; for if it be true as *Nennius* or his notist avers, that *Artur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a Child, and the intent of his name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that som in after ages who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the word *Uther* into a proper name, and so fain'd him the Son of *Uther*; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person liv'd, till *Geffry* of *Monmouth* set him off with the surname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that Victory at *Badon Hill* were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambrose* in the former. Next, if it be true

*Caradoc.*  
*Llancaun.*  
*vit. Gild.*

as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melwas* King of that Country which is now *Summerſet*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole year in the Town of *Glaſton*, and reſtor'd her at the entreaty of *Gildas*, rather than for any enforcement, that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make againſt a ſmall Town defended only by a moory ſituation; had either his knowledge in War, or the force he had to make, bin anſwerable to the ſame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd ſuch an affront, nor he bin ſo long, and at laſt without effect, in revenging it. Conſidering laſtly how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his ſuppos'd reign, which began, as ſom write, in the tenth year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long Warr the Countries of *Summerſet*, and *Hamſhire*; there will remain neither place nor circumſtance in ſtory, which may adminiſter any likelyhood of thoſe great Acts that are aſcrib'd him. This only is alleg'd by *Nennius* in *Arturs* behalf, that the *Saxons*, though vanquiſh't never ſo oft, grew ſtill more numerous upon him by continual ſupplies out of *Germany*. And the truth is, that valour may be over-toil'd, and overcome at laſt with endleſs overcomming. But as for this Battell of Mount *Budon* where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or beſieg'd, whether by *Artur* won, or whenſoever, it ſeems indeed to have giv'n a moſt undoubted and important blow to the *Saxons*, and to have ſtop'd thir proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himſelf witneſſing that the *Britans* having thus compel'd them to ſit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil diſcord among themſelves. Which words may ſeem to let in ſom light toward the ſearching out when this Battell was fought. And we ſhall find no time ſince the firſt *Saxon* War, from whence a longer peace enſu'd,

*Malmſ. Antiquit. Glaſton.*

529.

*Primord. p. 468.*

*Polychronic. L. 5. c. 6.*

fu'd, then from the fight at *Kerdics* Leage in the year 527. which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and give us argument from the custome they have of magnifying thir own deeds upon all occasions, to presume heer his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, eev'n to the 44<sup>th</sup> year after, wherin *Gildas* wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little War between the *Britans* and *Saxons*. This only remains difficult, that the Victory first won by *Ambrose*, was not so long before this at *Badon* Seige, but that the same men living might be eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unless we reck'n him a grown youth at least in the daies of *Ambrose*, and much more then a youth, if *Mulmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the exploits of *Ambrose*, to have bin don cheifly by *Artur* as his General, which will add much unbeleif to the common assertion of his reigning after *Ambrose* and *Uther*, especially the fight at *Badon*, being the last of his twelve Battels: But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at *Kerdics* Leage, though it differ in name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the same by all effects; *Kerdic* 3 years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his Forces on the Ile of *Wight*; which with the slaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he soon maisters; and not long surviving, left it to his Nefews by the Mothers side, *Stuff* and *Withgar*; the rest of what he had subdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held; and reign'd 26 years, in whose tenth year *Withgar* was buried in the Town of that Iland which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlikelyhoods of *Artur's* Reign and great acheivments, in a narration crept in I know not how among the Laws of

*Gildas.*

530.

*Sax.an.omm.*

534.

544.

*Edward the Confessor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britans*, is said not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeland*, and all the North East Iles as far as *Russia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eastern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britain*. When should this be done? from the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battells, he had no rest at home; after those, the *Britans* contented with the quiet they had from thir Saxon Enemies, were so far from seeking Conquests abroad; that, by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell to civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repress thir flowing hither, then to have won Kingdoms as far as *Russia*, scarce able heer to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Historian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the deeds of Arms, yet what he writes thereof himself, as of better credit, shews not whence he had but from those Fables; which he seems content to believe in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have assisted *Arthur* in all his Wars, and achievements; whereof appears as little grownd by any credible story, as of that which he most counts Fabulous. But not further to contest about such uncertainties.

547-  
The King-  
dome of  
Northum-  
berland.  
*Annal omn.*  
*Bed. Epit.*  
*Malmsb.*

In the year 547. *Ida* the Saxon, sprung also from *Woden* in the tenth degree, began the Kingdome of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town *Bebbanburg*, which was after wall'd; and had 12 Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengiſt* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had sent *Oſa* and *Ebiſſa* to seek them ſeats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to ſecure the Southern parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, that what



by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those Countries; and though so far distant from *Kent*, nor without power in thir hands, yet kept themselves nigh 180 years within moderation; and as inferior Governors, they and their off-spring gave obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family. Till at length following the example of that Age; when no less then Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunat Commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of thir Nation, to assume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the first, a man in the prime of his years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aspiring or by free choise, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his vertues, made him not less noble then his birth, in War undaunted, and unsoil'd; in peace tempring the aw of Magistracy, with a naturall mildness he reign'd about 12 years. In the mean while *Kenric* in a fight at *Searesbirig*, now *Salsbury*, kil'd and put to flight many of the *Britans*; and the fourth year after at *Beranvirig*, now *Eanbury*, as some think, with *Keanlin* his son put them again to flight. *Keanlin* shortly after succeeded his father in the *West-Saxons*. And *Alla* descended also of *Woden*, but by another line, set up a second Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it 30 years; while *Adda* the son of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd without other memory in *Bernicia*: and in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next year began. For *Ezca* the son of *Hengist* had left *Otha*, and he *Emerie* to rule after him; both which without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace 53 years. But *Ethelbert* in length of reign equal'd both his progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, 3 years exceeded. Young at his first entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was the first raiser of

*Malmsb.*

552.

*Annal omni.*

556.

*Camden.*

560.

*Annal.*

*Florent.*

561.

*Malmsf.*

*Ann. omu.*  
568.

*Gildas.*

civill War among the *Saxons*; claiming from the priority of time wherein *Hengist* took possession here, a kind of right over the later Kingdomes; and thereupon was troublesome to thir Confines: but by them twise defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadfull, became almost contemptible. For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, persuing him into his own Territory, slew there in Battel, at *Wibbandun* 2 of his Earls, *Ossac*, and *Cnebban*. By this means the *Eritans*, but cheifly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the space of 44 years ending in 571, receav'd no great annoyance from the *Saxons*: but the peace they enjoy'd, by ill using it, prov'd more destructive to them then War. For being rais'd on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thraldome, they whose Eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by *Ambrose*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magistrates, Preists, and privat men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with past Evils, and only sensible of thir present ease and quiet, succeeded, strait follow'd the apparent subversion of all truth, and justice, in the minds of most men: scarce the left footstep, or impression of goodness left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the Land; except in some so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And first thir Kings, among whom also, the Sons or Grand-Children of *Ambrose*, were foully degenerated to all Tyranny and vitious life. Wherof to hear som particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent. They avenge, saith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they swear oft, but perjure; they wage War,

but civil and unjust War. They punish rigorously them that rob by the high way ; but those grand Robbers that sit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They give alms largely, but in the face of thir Alms-deeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the seat of Judgment, but goe seldome by the rule of right ; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless ; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominablest crimes ; they stuff thir Prisons, but with men committed rather by circumvention, then any just cause. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the same pass or rather worse, then when the Saxons came first in ; Unlearned, Unapprehensive, yet impudent ; suttile Prowlers, Pastors in Name, but indeed Wolves ; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themselves : not call'd, but seising on the Ministry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge : teaching the people, not by sound Doctrin, but by evil Example : usurping the Chair of *Peter*, but through the blindness of thir own worldly lusts, they stumble upon the Seat of *Judas* : deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies : looking on the poor Christian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt ; but fawning on the wickedest rich men without shame : great promoters of other mens Alms with thir set exhortations ; but themselves contributing ever least ; slightly touching the many vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own greivances, as don to Christ ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the Church more then after Heav'n ; and so gain'd, make it thir whole study how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet lest they should be thought things of no use in thir eminent places, they have thir niceties and trivial points to

keep in aw the superstitious multitude; but in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay forbidding and silencing them that know; but in worldly matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only art and symony, great Clercs and Maisters, bearing thir heads high, but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor Laity, so he goes on, these beasts, all belly? shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil doings? shalt thou see with their Eyes, who see right forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blind-fold into the same perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himself blameless, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? who of them hath bin envi'd for his better life? who of them hath hated to consort with these, or withstood thir entering the Ministry, or endeavour'd zealously thir casting out? Yet som of these perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the state of Government, this of Religion among the *Britans*, in that long calm of peace, which the fight at *Badon Hill* had brought forth. Wherby it came to pass, that so fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Citties were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd and wast; nor was it long ere domestic War breaking out, wasted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then also several Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living then in *Armorica*, at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name; First *Constantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Arturs* half Brother by the Mothers side) who then reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical

Tyrannical and bloody King, polluted also with many Adulteries: he got into his power, two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwise suspected: and after solemn Oath giv'n of thir safety the year that *Gildas* wrote, slew them with thir two Governours in the Church, and in thir Mothers Arms, through the Abbots Coap, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his vesture to have withheld the murderer. These are commonly suppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Arturs* Nefew, said to have revolted from his Uncle, giv'n him in a Battel his Deaths wound, and by him after to have bin slain. Which things were they true, would much diminish the blame of cruelty in *Constantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of so false a *Mordred*. In another part, but not express'd where, *Aurelius Conan* was King: him he charges also with Adulteries, and Parricide; cruelties worse then the former; to be a hater of his Countries Peace, thirsting after civil War and Prey. His condition it seems was not very prosperous; for *Gildas* wishes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midst of a barren field, to remember the vanity, and arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in thir youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipar*, the Son of a good Father; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of falshood, and cruel Actions. In his latter daies, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in divorce, he became, if we mistake not *Gildas*, incestuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in civil War; he also had divorc'd his Wife, and tak'n her Sister, who had vow'd Widdowhood: he was a great Enemy to

the Clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth. The last, but greatest of all in power, was *Maglocune*, and greatest also in wickedness; he had driv'n out or slain many other Kings, or Tyrants; and was called the *Island Dragon*, perhaps having his seat in *Anglesey*; a profuse giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: then touch't with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation took upon him the profession of a Monk; but soon forsook his vow, and his wife also, which for that vow he had left, making love to the wife of his Brothers Son then living. Who not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that entic'd, found means both to dispatch her own Husband, and the former wife of *Maglocune*, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man reputed of all *Britain*, the instituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the *Britans* from the time of their useless Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to say, as may be guess't, from 527 to 571, is here set down altogether; not to be reduc't under any certainty of years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the most part all this while had bin still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this side *Wales*. For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedansford*, now *Bedford*, took from them 4 good Towns, *Liganburgh*, *Eglesburh*, *Besington*, now *Benson* in *Oxfordshire*, and *Ignesham*; but outliv'd not many months his good success. And

571.

Camden.

Annal omn.

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577.

after 6 years more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great overthrow at *Deorrrham* in *Glostershire*, slew three of thir Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmaile*, and took three of thir Cheif Citties; *Glocester*, *Cirencester*, and *Badencester*. The Britans notwithstanding, after some space of time, judging to have out-grown thir losses, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they slew among the thickest, and as is said, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout, and following his advantage, took many Towns, and return'd lad'n with rich booty.

584.

*Huntingd.*

The last of those *Saxons* who rais'd thir own achievements to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time, first founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing also his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the several Genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were, in my opinion, to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names, to little purpose. This may suffice, that of *Wodens* 3 Sons, from the Eldest issu'd *Hengist*, and his succession; from the second, the Kings of *Mercia*; from the third, all that reign'd in *West-Saxon*, and most of the *Northumbers*, of whom *Alla* was one, the first King of *Deira*; which, after his death, the race of *Ida* seis'd, and made it one Kingdom, with *Bernicia*, usurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla's* Son. Whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* expel'd. Notwithstanding others write of him; that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the access of a Kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not the fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more the Britans,

The Kingdome of *Mercia*.

*Huntingd.*

*Mat. Westm.*

*Malmsb. L.*  
1. c. 3.

*Floren. ad ann.*

559.

588.

*tans*, ere they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some manhood; for meeting *Keaulin* at *Wodens Beorth*, that is to say, *Wodens Mount* in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by thir own Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they ruin'd his whole Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence flying, he dy'd the next year in poverty; Who a little before, was the most potent and indeed sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. But who was cheif among the *Britans* in this exploit, had bin worth remembring, whether it were *Malglocune*, of whose prowess hath bin spok'n, or *Tendric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the regeſt of *Landaff* recounts to have bin alwaies victorious in fight; to have reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son *Mouric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to extremes, taking armes again, he defeated them at *Tinterne* by the River *Wye*; but himself receav'd a mortal wound. The same year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cuthulf*, *Keaulin's* Brother succeeded; *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wibba* succeeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfrid*, in the room of *Etkelric*; reigning 24 years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the veiw of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, don in *Britain*, since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherin we have heard the many miseries and desolations, brought by divine hand on a perverse Nation; driv'n, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountanous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity



fidelity profess't, then Christian Faith and Religion dishonoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounc'd thir Heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

*The End of the Third Book.*

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THE

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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The Fourth Book.

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**T**HE *Saxons* grown up now to 7 absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by succession, finding thir power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britans*, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leasure one anothers greatness. Which quickly bred among them, either envy, or mutual jealousies; till the West Kingdom at length grown over powerful, put an end to all the rest. Meanwhile, above others, *Ethelbert of Kent*, who by this time had well rip'nd his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in War,

*Bed. Malmf.*

what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber*, to be at his devotion. To which design the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, being the firmeſt of them all, at that time foreſhak'n by thir over-throw at *Wodens-beorth*, and the Death of *Keanlin*, gave him no doubt a main advantage; the reſt yeilded not ſubjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the French Kings Daughter, though a Chriſtian, and with this condition, to have the free exerciſe of her Faith, under the care and inſtruction of *Letardus* a Biſhop, ſent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding and his people retaining thir own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* laies it ſadly to the *Bed. l. i. c. 25.* *Britans* charge, that they never would voutſafe thir *Saxon* Neighbours the means of converſion: but how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the miſt of ſo much hoſtility, *Bed. l. 2. c. 1.* at leaſt falſhood from thir firſt arrival, is not now eaſie to determin. Howbeit not long after, they had the Chriſtian Faith preach't to them by a Nation *Malmſ. l. 1.* more remote, and (as a report went, accounted old c. 3. in *Beda's* time) upon this occaſion.

The *Northumbrians* had a cuſtom at that time, and many hunder'd yeares after not abolish't, to ſell thir Childern for a ſmall value into any Foren Land. Of which number, two comly youths were brought to *Rome*, whoſe fair and honeſt countnances invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that Citty, among others that beheld them, pitting thir condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by ſom who ſtood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province *Deira*, ſubjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and

by Religion Pagans. Which last *Gregory* deploring, fram'd on a sudden this allusion to the three names he heard; that the *Angli* so like to Angels should be snatch't *de ira*, that is, from the wrath of God, to sing *Haleluia*: and forthwith obtaining licence of *Benedic* the Pope, had come and preach't heer among them, had not the *Roman* people, whose love endur'd not the absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recall'd him then on his journey, though but deferr'd his pious intention. For a while after, succeeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth year, admonish't, saith *Beda*, by divine instinct, he sent *Augustine* whom he had design'd for Bishop of the *English* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on thir way, discouraged by some reports, or thir own carnal fear, sent back *Austin*, in the name of all, to beseech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose tongue they understood not. *Gregory* with pious and Apostolic perswasions exhorts them not to shrink back frō so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of divine assistance. The Letter it self yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastic story, I omit heer, as not professing to relate of those matters more then what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The Abbot *Austin*, for so he was ordain'd over the rest, reincourag'd by the exhortations of *Gregory*, and his fellows by the Letter which he brought them, came safe to the Ile of *Tanet*, in number about 40, besides some of the French Nation whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Austin* at his landing had sent a new and wondrous message, that he came from *Rome* to proffer Heav'n and eternal happiness in the

## Book 4. *The History of England.*

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knowledge of another God then the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and necessities to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the Island, chose a place to meet them under the open Sky, possess'd with an old perswasion, that all Spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side call'd to his presence, advancing for thir Standard, a silver cross, and the painted image of our Saviour, came slowly forward singing the solemn Litanies: which wrought in *Ethelbert* more suspicion perhaps that they us'd enchantments; till sitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that assembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus answer'd. Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot hastily assent to, quitting the Religion which from my Ancestors, with all the *English* Nation, so many years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endur'd so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly thir residence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canturbury* his chief City, and made provision for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleas'd. By which, and by the example of thir holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the

conversion of Souls, they won many ; on whose bounty and the Kings, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the Citty, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of St. *Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer : in which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to pray : Heer they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise divine worship. But when the King himself convinc't by thir good life & miracles, became Christian, and was baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of thir arrival, then multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among those of his faith. To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shew'd his favour, but compell'd none. For so he had bin taught by them who were both the Instructors and the Authors of his faith, that Christian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelmulf* the Son of *Cutha Keaulins* Brother reign'd over the *West-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *English*, *Welch*, *Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Austin*, whom with his fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better place for thir abode in the Citty, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into *France*, was by the Archbishop of *Arles*, at the appointment of Pope *Gregory*, ordain'd Archbishop of the *English* : and returning, sent to *Rome* *Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his associates, to acquaint the Pope of his good success in *England*, and to be resolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical questions : with answers to which, not proper in this place, *Gregory* sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, *Mellitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others ; who what they were,

598.

*Bed. l. 2. c. 5.**Sax. an.  
Malmf.*

601.

*Bed. l. 1. c. 27.*

were, may be guess't by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the Altar, Coaps, reliques, and for the Archbishop *Austin* a Pall to say Mass in : to such a rank superstition that Age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of Apostolic zeal : lastly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a letter with many presents. *Austin* thus exalted to Archiepiscopal authority, recover'd from the ruins and other profane uses, a Christian Church in *Canturbury* built of old by the *Romans* ; which he dedicated by the name of Christs Church, and joyn'g to it built a seat for himself and his successors ; a Monastery also neer the Citty Eastward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built *St. Peters*, and enrich't it with great endowments, to be a place of burial for the Archbishops and Kings of *Kent* : so quickly they step't up into fellowship of pomp with Kings. While thus *Ethelbert* and his people had thir minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King, was not less busied in far different affairs : for being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more wasted the *Britans* then any *Saxon* King before him ; winning from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan* King of those *Scots* that dwelt in *Britain*, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degsaetan* ; but in the fight loosing most of his men, himself with a few escap'd : only *Theobald* the Kings brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* less intire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hostile manner durst pass into *Britain* for a hunderd and more years after : and what some years before, *Kelmulf* the *West-Saxon* is annal'd to have done against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing

Bed. l. 2. l. 34.

603.

sing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so potent, unless in his aid and alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, assisted by *Keaulin* whom he mis-titles King of *East-Saxons*, had before this time a bat-tel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha* *Keaulin's* son was slain. But *Cutha*, as is above written from better authority, was slain in fight against the *Welch* 20 years before.

604.  
Bed. l. 2. c. 3 The number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustine* ordaining Bishops under him, two of his assistants *Mellitus* and *Justus*, sent them out both to the work of thir ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the son of *Sleda*, by permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whose conversion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of *St. Paul* in *London* to be their Bishops Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rocheſter*, and both gifted by the same King with fair possessions. Hitherto *Austin* laboured well among Infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* summoning the *Britan* Bishops to a place on the edge of *Worceſterſhire*, call'd from that time *Augustines* Oke, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating *Easter*, and many other points wherein they differ'd from the rites of *Rome*: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a miracle, restoring to sight a blind man whom the *Britans* could not cure. At this something mov'd, though not minded to recede from thir own opinions without furder consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven *Britan* Bishops, with many other lerned men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by thir own labour,



that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer then 300. One man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more then all the rest who went : being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear ; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom *Austin* being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receiv'd in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britans*, as they were counsel'd by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hark'n'd to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Archbishop : And in name *Spelman* of the rest, *Dinotus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said, *concil. pag.* thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the sub- 108.  
 jection which you require, be thus perswaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the Childern of God : other obedience then this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope ; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon*, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters. To which *Austin* thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, since ye refuse to accept of peace with your brethren,

brethren, ye shall have War from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the word of life, to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive death. This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the *Britans*, fell out accordingly. For many years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the request of *Ethelbert* incens'd by *Austin*, with a powerful host came to *Westchester*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both sides in readinels to give the onset, he discernes a company of men, not habited for War, standing together in a place of some safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learnt upon some enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three days fasting, to pray for the good success of thir Forces against him, therefore they first, saith he, shall feel our Swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by thir prayers, and are our dangerousst enemies. And with that turns his first charge upon the Monks: *Brocmail* the Captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden massacher, whereof scarce fifty scap'd, but not so easie work found *Ethelfrid* against another part of *Britans* that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own souldiers. To excuse *Austin* of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting Archbishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from *Gesfry Monmouth*, whose weight we know. The same

Sax. an.  
Huntingd.  
607.

Malmf. gest.  
pont. l. i.

year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, *Sax. an.*  
 faith *Huntingdon*, to both sides, but most to them of  
 the *South* : and four years after dying left the Go- 611.  
 vernment of *West-Saxons* to *Kinegils* and *Cuichelm* *Sax. an.*  
 the sons of his brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent* of *Malmf.*  
*Worster* and *Mathew* of *Westminster*, will have *Cuichelm*  
 son of *Kinegils*, but admitted to reign with his father, 614.  
 in whose third year they are recorded with joyn't  
 Forces or conduct to have fought against the *Britans* *Camd.*  
 in *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, and to have 616.  
 slain of them above two thousand. More memora- *Sax. an.*  
 ble was the second year following, by the death of  
*Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Saxons*, and no  
 less a favourer of all civility in that rude age. He  
 gave Laws and Statutes after the example of *Roman*  
 Emperors, written with the advice of his sagest  
 Counsellors, but in the *English* tongue, and observ'd  
 long after. Wherein his special care was to punish  
 those who had stoln ought from Church or Church-  
 man, thereby shewing how gratefully he receiv'd at  
 thir hands the Christian Faith. Which, he no sooner  
 dead, but his son *Eadbald* took the course as fast to  
 extinguish ; not only falling back to Heathenism,  
 but that which Heathenism was wont to abhor, mar-  
 rying his fathers second wife. Then soon was per-  
 ceiv'd what multitudes for fear or countenance of the  
 King had profess't Christianity, returning now as  
 eagerly to thir old Religion. Nor staid the Apo-  
 stacy within one Province, but quickly spread over  
 to the *East-Saxons* ; occasion'd there likewise, or  
 set forward by the death of thir Christian King *se-*  
*bert* : whose three sons, of whom two are nam'd  
*Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his life time would be *Malmf.*  
 brought to baptism, and after his decease re-esta-  
 blish'd the free exercise of Idolatry ; nor so content,  
 they

they set themselves in despite to do some open profanation against the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Bishop was ministering, they requir'd him in abuse and scorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the consecrated bread; and him refuseing, drove disgracefully out of their dominion. Who cross'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the same plight, and thence into *France*, with *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine vengeance deferr'd not long the punishment of men so impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell oft'n into foul fits of distraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a fight against the *West-Saxons* perish'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Archbishop and successor of *Austin* was preparing to ship for *France*, after *Justus* and *Mellitus*, the story goes, if it be worth beleeving, that St. *Peter*, in whose Church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock; at sight whereof the King (to whom next morning he shew'd the marks of what he had suffer'd, by whom and for what cause) relenting and in great fear dissolv'd his incestuous marriage, and appli'd himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely then before, with all his people. But the *Londoners* addicted still to Paganism, would not be perswaded to receive again *Mellitus* thir Bishop, and to compell them was not in his power. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North parts disquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch't before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and join'd that King-

dome to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his right, whose known vertues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his Enemies, sends Messengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *East-Angles*; under whose protection, after many years wandring obscurely through all the Iland, he had plac'd his safety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all defence to *Edwin* as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of *Ethelfrid*, yeilded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into thir hands: but earnestly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hospitality and refuge giv'n, prefers his first promise as the more Religious, nor only refuses to deliver him; but since War was thereupon denounc't, determines to be beforehand with the danger; and with a sudden Army rais'd, surprises *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an invasion, and in a fight near to the East-side of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* border, now *Nottinghamshire*, slaies him, dissipating easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him; who yet as a testimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, slew first with his own hands, *Reiner* the Kings Son. His two Sons *Oswald*, and *Oswi*, by *Acca*, *Edwins* Sister, escap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became so far superior to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reck'ns him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hitherside *Hum-ber* at his obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receav'd Baptism, but coming home and perswaded by his Wife, who still it seems, was his Chief Counsellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion; yet not willing to forgoe his new, thought it

*Malmsb. L.*  
1. c. 3.

*Camden.*

*Bed. L. 2. c.*

15.

not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either, for more assurance to keep them both ; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retain'd the Christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him ; subduing all, saith *Beda*, English or British, eev'n to the Isles, then call'd *Mevanian*, *Anglesey*, and *Man* ; setl'd in his Kingdome by *Redwald*, he sought in marriage *Edelburga*, whom others call *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whose Embassadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made answer, that to wed thir Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Christian Law. *Edwin* repli'd, that to her Religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole Household she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. These ingenuous offers, op'ning so fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a spiritual Guardian sent along with the Virgin. He being to that purpose made Bishop by *Justus*, omitted no occasion to plant the Gospel in those parts, but with small success, till the next year, *Cuichelm*, at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings, envious of the greatness which he saw *Edwin* growing up to, sent privily *Enmerus* a hir'd Sword-man to assassn him ; who under pretence of doing a message from his Master, with a poison'd Weapon, stabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *Torkeeshire*, on an Easter-day ; which *Lilla* one of the Kings Attendants, at the instant perceaving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole body to the blow ; which notwithstanding made passage through to the

625.

626.

Kings Person, with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompass'd now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the Death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no opportunity to win the King from misbeleef, obtain'd at length this promise from him; that if Christ, whom he so magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his Enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion; who with 12 others of his Family, on the day of *Pentecost* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound; to punish the Authors of so foul a fact, he went with an Army against the *West-Saxons*: whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspir'd against him, put some to Death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worship'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his beleef. But while he still deferr'd, and his deferring might seem now to have past the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingring, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was beleev'd, coming to the knowledge of a secret, which befell him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he rememberd what that sign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze rising up, strait fell at his Feet. Behold, saith *Paulinus*, raising him from the ground; God hath deli-

ver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdome, as you desir'd: perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity, add Eternal. The promise claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related. *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazl'd with the gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatning over-aw'd, having promis'd to yeild up *Edwin*, one of his faithfull Companions, of which he had some few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first howr of night comes in hast to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveles to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, and seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin, distrust towards one who had so long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace Gate, full of sadness and perplext thoughts, discerns about the dead of night, a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after salutation, ask'd him why at this howr, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, what his sitting within dores, or without, concern'd him to know? To whom he again, think not that who thou art, or why sitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promise to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and perswade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, answer'd *Edwin*. And he, what if the same man should promise to make you greater



greater then any English King hath bin before you? I should not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be answerably gratefull. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known? would you hark'n to his Counsel? *Edwin* without stopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his right hand on *Edwins* head, when this sign, saith he, shall next befall yee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd, and with these words disappeering, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the friend who had bin gon all this while to list'n further what was like to be decree'd of *Edwin*, comes back and joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the Kings mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why *Edwin* admonish't by the Bishop of a sign which had befalln him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from Heav'n, to claim that promise of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine power, that had assisted him in his troubles. To *Paulinus* therefore he makes answer, that the Christian Beleeif he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would conferr first with his Cheif Peers and Counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therfore being ask'd in Counsel what thir opinion was concerning this new Doctrine, and well perceaving which way the King enclin'd, every one thereafter shap'd his reply. The Cheif-Preist speaking first, discover'd

an old grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the Kings Favour above him thir Cheif Preist : another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choise of certain before uncertain, upon due examination ; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none op'nly dissenting from what was likely to be the Kings Creed : wheras the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing Heathenism, became Christian : and the Pagan Preist, offering himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons *Osfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Quenburga*, Daughter, as saith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the people, both Nobles and Commons, easily converted, were baptiz'd ; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church hastily built up of Wood, the multitude most part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus christ'nd, *Paulinus* crossing *Humber*, converted also the Province of *Lindsey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Household and most of that City ; wherin he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance ; for the Roof in *Bedas* time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down ; the Walls only standing. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinsman of *Wibba*, saith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdome from *Penda Wibba's* Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his Age : with whom *Kinegils* and *Cnichelm*, the *West-Saxon* Kings, two year after, having by that time it seems recover'd strength, since the Inrode made upon them by *Edwin*,

627.

629.

Sax. ann.

*win*, fought at *Cirencester*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much deliberation he had receav'd, perswaded *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King of *East-Angles*, to imbrace the same beleef; willingly or in aw, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long surviv'd his conversion, slain in fight by *Richbert* a Pagan: wherby the people having lightly follow'd the Religion of thir King, as lightly fell back to thir old superstitions for above 3 years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding vertue, by the due administration of justice wrought such peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, man or woman might have travail'd in safety. His care also was of Fountains by the way side, to make them fittest for the use of Travellers. And not unmindful of regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having reign'd with much honour 17 years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britans*, who with aid of the *Mercian Penda*, had rebell'd against him, slain in a Battel with his Son *Osfrid*, at a place call'd *Hethfeild*, and his whole Army overthrown or dispers'd in the year 633. and the 47<sup>th</sup> of his Age, in the Eye of man worthy a more peacefull end. His Head brought to *Tork*, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the British King, though in name a Christian, yet in deeds more bloody then the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian. For the *Britans*, and, as *Bede*

632.

Sax. an.

Florent.

Genealog.

633.

faith, eev'n to his dayes, accounted *saxon* Christianity no better then Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethilburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwins* Captains, made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent* : who receaving his Sister with all kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightfull Heir seiſing his part; in *Deira* *Oſric*, the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwins* Uncle, by profeſſion a Chriſtian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Bernicia*, *Eanſrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oſwald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had bin there taught and baptiz'd. No ſooner had they gott'n each a Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant, ſliding back into their old Religion; and both were the ſame year ſlain; *Oſric* by a ſudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a ſtrong Town had unadviſedly beſieg'd; *Eanſrid* ſeeking peace, and inconfideratly with a few ſurrendring himſelf. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both thoſe Provinces, uſeing cruelly his Conqueſt; when *Oſwald* the Brother of *Eanſrid* with a ſmall but Chriſtian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and deſtroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, neer the antient *Roman* Wall then call'd *Deniſburn*, the place afterwards *Heav'n field*, from the Croſs reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oſwald* there erected before the Battle, in tok'n of his Faith againſt the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to inſtruct again the people in Chriſtianity.

Sending therefore to the Scottish Elders, *Beda* so terms them, among whom he had receav'd Baptism, requested of them som faithfull Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late troubles had impar'd; they as readily hearkning to his request, send *Aidan* a Scotch Monk and Bishop, but of singular zeal and meekness, with others to assist him, whom at thir own desire he seated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopal Seat, now *Holy Island*: and being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwins* Dominion lost any part, but enlarg'd it rather; over all the fowr *British* Nations, *Angles*, *Britans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exercising regall Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Almes-deeds, much is spok'n; that he disdain'd not to be the interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in Scotch or bad English, to his Nobles and Household Servants; and had the poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of privat or of Church contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About this time, the *West-Saxons*, antiently call'd *Gevissi*, by the preaching of *Berinus*, a Bishop, whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Kinegils* thir King: him *Oswald* receav'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in mariage. The next year *Cnichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorchester*, but liv'd not to the years end. The *East-Angles* also this year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Christ, which for som years past they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpmald* now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a most Christian and Learned Man: who while his Brother yet reign'd, living in

635.

Sax. an.

636.

France an exile, for some displeasure conceav'd against him by *Redwald* his Father, learn'd there the Christian Faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his people, by the preaching of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Bishop.

640. In the year 640. *Eadbald* deceasing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the French Kings Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; recorded the first of English Kings, who commanded through his limits the destroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without exception, and the first to have established *Lent* among us, under strict penalty, not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was observ'd heer till his time by compulsion: especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whose right was precedent to the Crown. *Oswald* having reign'd 8

Mat. West.

642.

Camden.

Bed. L. 3. c.

14.

643.

Sax. an.

years, worthy also as might seem of longer life, fell into the same fate with *Edwin*, and from the same hand, in a great Battel overcome and slain by *Penda*, at a place call'd *Maserfeld*, now *Oswestre*, in *Shropshire*, miraculous, as saith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oswi* succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, 28 years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brothers Son *Ethilwald*. Next year *Kinegil* the *West-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *East-Angles*, having learnt in *France*, ere his coming to Reign, the manner of thir Schools, with the assistance of some Teachers out of *Kent*, instituted a School heer after the same Discipline, thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first founded: and at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monastical life; commending the care of Government to his

Kinsman *Egric*, who had sustain'd with him part of that burden before. It happen'd some years after, that *Penda* made War on the *East-Angles*: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought *Sigebert*, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his presence to confirm the Souldiery: and him refuseing carried by force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praise of a vertuous and most Christian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having married the Daughter of *Penda*, and divorc't her, was by him with more appearance of a just cause vanquisht in fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, after three years abode in his Court, he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oswi* in the former years of his Reign, had sharer with him, *Oswin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* 7 years, commended much for his zeal in Religion, and for comeliness of person, with other princely qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithstanding which, dissentions growing between them, it came to Armes. *Oswin* seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithfull attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd friend, he was by him treacherously discoverd, and by command of *Oswi* slain. After whom within 12 days, and for greif of him whose death he foretold, dy'd Bishop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, meekness, and labour in the Gospel. The fact of *Oswi* was detestable to all; which there-

645.  
*Sax. an.*

648.

651.  
*Bede.*

fore to expiate, a Monastery was built in the place where it was don, and Prayers there daily offerd up for the Souls of both Kings, the slain and the slayer. *Kenwalk* by this time reinstall'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for

*Bed. l. 3. c. 7.* *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great losses: and in 652. by the Annals, fought

652.

a Battel (Civil War *Ethelwerd* calls it) at *Bradansford* by the River *Afene*; against whom, and for what cause, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Camden* names the place *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, by the River *Avon*, and *Cuthred* his neer Kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* fowr years before had giv'n large possessions to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd. The next year

653.

*Peada*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle-Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that people converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oswi* with request to have in marriage *Alfreda* his Daughter, he was deni'd her but on condition, that he with all his people should receive Christianity. Heering therefore not unwillingly what was preach't to him of Resurrection and Eternal life, much persuaded also by *Alfrid* the Kings Son, who had his Sister *Kyniburg* to Wife, he easily assented, for the truths sake only as he profess'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his followers. Returning, he took with him fowr Presbyters to teach the people of his Province; who by thir daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himself no Beleever, prohibit any in his Kingdom to heer or beleeve the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who professing to beleeve,



atested not thir Faith by good works ; condemning  
 them for miserable and justly to be despis'd , who  
 obey not that God in whom they choose to beleeve.  
 How well might *Pendu* this Heathen rise up in judg-  
 ment against many pretending Christians, both of  
 his own and these daies ! yet being a man bred up to  
 War (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-  
 times one against another, though both Christians)  
 he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles* , per-  
 haps without cause , for *Anna* was esteem'd a just  
 man, and at length slew him. About this time the  
*East-Saxons* , who as above hath bin said, had ex-  
 pell'd thir Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith,  
 were by the means of *Oswi* thus reconverted. *Sige-  
 bert* surnam'd the small, being the Son of *Seward*,  
 without other memory of his Reign, left his Son  
 King of that Province, after him *Sigebert* the Se-  
 cond, who coming oft'n to visit *Oswi* his great friend,  
 was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from  
 Idolatry, and convinc't at length to forsake it, was  
 there baptiz'd ; on his return home taking with him  
*Kedda* a laborious Preacher , afterwards made Bi-  
 shop ; by whose teaching with some help of others,  
 the people were again recoverd from misbeleef. But  
*Sigebert* some years after , though standing fast in  
 Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren  
 in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd ; who  
 being ask'd what mov'd them to do a deed so hai-  
 nous, gave no other then this barbarous answer ;  
 that they were angry with him for being so gentle  
 to his Enemies, as to forgive them thir injuries when-  
 ever they besought him. Yet his Death seems to  
 have happ'nd not without some cause by him giv'n  
 of Divine displeasure. For one of those Earls who  
 slew him, living in unlawfull wedlock, and therefore  
 excom-

 654.  
*Sax. an.*

excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at meat with him, the King not regarding this Church censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had don, and saln at his feet, touch'd with the rod in his hand, and angerly thus foretold: because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die; and so it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witness to his Minister in the power of Church Discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner therof.

655. This year 655. prov'd fortunate to *Oswi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oswi* by the continual inrodes of *Penda*, having long endur'd much devastation, to the endangering once by assault and fire *Bebbanburg*, his strongest City, now *Bamborrough* Castle, unable to resist him, with many rich presents offerd to buy his Peace.

Bed. l. 3. c. 16.  
Camd.

Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but destruction to that King, though more then once in affinity with him, turning guifts into vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliverd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and 12 portions of land wheron to build Monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success then his profferd guifts; for heerupon with his Son *Alfrid*, gathering a small power, he encounterd and discomfited the *Mercians*, 30 times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert Captains: at a place call'd *Loyden*, now *Leeds* in *Torshshire*. Besides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oswald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which un-

Camden.

seasonable retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrifi'd and misdoubting more danger, fled ; thir Commanders, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, among whom *Edilhere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *East-Angles*, and was the Author of this War ; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then swoln above her Banks. The Death of *Penda*, who had bin the Death of so many good Kings, made generall rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed*, *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere* succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East-Angles* ; to *Sigebert* in the *East-Saxons*, *Suidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, saith *Bede*, the Brother of *Sige-* Mat West.  
*bert*, saith *Malmsbury* ; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then residing in the *East-Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King, receav'd out of the Font. But *Oswi* in the strength of his late Victory, within three years after subdu'd all *Mercia*, and of the Pictish Nation greatest part, at which time he gave to *Peada* his Son in Law the Kingdome of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of *Oswi*, married by him for a special Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Im-* 658.  
*min*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Govern- Sax. an.  
ment of *Oswi*, set up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be thir King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adherd to the Christian Faith. *Ken-* 659.  
*walk*, the *West-Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and desi- Sax. an.  
rous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the *Britans*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somerset-*  
*shire*, and over coming persues them to *Pedridan*. Another fight he had with them before, at a place call'd *Witgeornesburg*, barely mention'd by the Monk

661.

Sax. an.

of *Malsbury*. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at *Possen-tesburg*, on the *Easter* Holy-days, and as *Ethelwerd* saith, took him Prisoner; but the *Saxon* Annals, quite otherwise, that *Wulfer* winning the field, wasted the *West-Saxon* Country as far as *Eskefdun*; nor staying there, took and wasted the Ile of *Wight*, but causing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then unbelievers, gave the Iland to *Ethelwald* King of *South-Saxons*, whom he had receav'd out of the Font. The year 664. a Synod of *Scotish* and *English* Bishops, in the presence of *Oswi* and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monastery in those parts, to debate on what Day *Easter* should be kept; a controverfie which long before had disturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the way of *Rome*, nor yeilding to the disputants on that side, to whom the King most inclin'd, such as were Bishops heer, resign'd, and return'd home with thir Disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of crowns. The same year was seen an Eclipse of the Sun in *May*, followed by a sore pestilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with great mortality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Smithelms* Decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the small, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both subject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his people unstedie of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* understanding, sent *Jarnmannus* a Faithfull Bishop, who with other his fel-

664.

Bed.

Malmf.

low Labourers, by sound Doctrin and gentle dealing, soon recur'd them of thir second relaps. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son *Ecbert*. In whose fowrth year, by means of *Theodore*, a learned Greekish Monk of *Tarsus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had ordain'd Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Greek and Latin Tongue, with other liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomie, and the like ; began first to flourish among the *Saxons* ; as did also the whole Land, under potent and religious Kings, more then ever before, as *Bede* affirms, till his own days. Two years after, in *Northumberland* dy'd *Oswi*, much addicted to Romish Rites, and resolv'd, had his Disease releas'd him, to have ended his days at *Rome* : *Ecfrid* the eldest of his Sons begot in *Wedlock*, succeeded him. After other three years, *Ecbert* in *Kent* deceasing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspition to have slain or conniv'd at the slaughter of his Uncles two Sons, *Elbert*, and *Egelbright*. In recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an Abbey ; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lothair*. And much about this time, by best account it should be, however plac'd in *Beda*, that *Ecfrid* of *Northumberland*, having War with the *Mercian Wulfer*, won from him *Lindsey*, and the Country thereabout. *Sebbi* having reign'd over the *East-Saxons* 30 years, not long before his Death, though long before desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk ; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the same Devotion. *Kenmulk* also dying, left the Government to *Sexburga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one year, driv'n out, saith *Mat. West.* by the Nobles, disdaining Female Government. After whom several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for ten

668.

*Sax. ann.*

670.

*Sax. an.*

673.

*Sax. an.*

*Malmf.*

*Bed. l. 4. c. 12.*

674.

- Bed. l. 4. c. 12.* years space divided the *West-Saxons*; others name two, *Eſcwin* the Nephew of *Kinigils*, and *Kentwin* the Son, not petty by thir deeds: for *Eſcwin* fought a Battell with *Wulfer*, at *Bedanhaſde*, and about year a af- both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not without a ſtain left behind him, of ſelling the Biſhoprick of *London*, to *Wini* the firſt Simonift we read of in this ſtory; *Ken- walk* had before expell'd him from his Chair at *Win- cheſter*; *Ethelred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not only recoverd *Lindſey*, and what beſides in thoſe parts *Wulfer* had loſt to *Ecfrid* ſome years before, but found himſelf ſtrong enough to extend his Armes another way, as far as *Kent*, waſting that Country without reſpect to Church or Monaſtery, much alſo endamaging the
- Bed. l. 4. c. 12.* City of *Rochefter*: Notwithſtanding what reſiſtance *Lothair* could make againſt him. In *Auguſt* 678. was ſeen a Morning Comet for 3 Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were convert'd to the Chriſtian Faith, upon this occaſion. *Wilfrid* Biſhop of the *Nor- thumbrians* entring into contention with *Ecfrid* the King, was by him depriv'd of his Biſhoprick, and long wandring up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length into *England*, but not dareing to approach the North, whence he was baniſh'd, bethought him where he might to beſt purpoſe elſewhere exerciſe his Miniſtery. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edilmalk* thir King not long before had bin baptiz'd in *Mercia*, perſuaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath bin ſaid, receav'd out of the Font.
- Bed. l. 4. c. 13.* For which relations ſake he had the Ile of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meannari* adjoining, giv'n him on the Continent about *Meaneſborow* in *Hantſhir*, which *Wulfer* had a little before gott'n from *Kenwalk*. The-

ther *Wilfrid* takes his journey, and with the help of other Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is said, of three years before in that Country, whence many of the people daily perish'd by Famin; till on the first day of thir public Baptism, soft and plentiful showers descending, restor'd all abundance to the Summer following. Two years after this, *Kentwin* the other *West-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britans*, as is Chronicl'd without circumstance, to the very Sea shoar. But in the year, by *Beda's* reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *West-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britans*) thrown out by faction, return'd from banishment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever else had divided the succession of *Kenwalk*, slaying in fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in their aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the province in thir power. But *Kedwalla* gathering new force, with the slaughter of *Bertune*, and also of *Edric* the successor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdome. But reduc'd the people to heavy thraldome. Then addressing to Conquer the Ile of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, saith *Beda* (others otherwise, as above hath bin related) made a vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fowrth part of that Iland, and the spoils therof, to holy uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his vow as then was the beleef, he gave his fowrth to Bishop *Wilfrid*, by chance there present; and he to *Bertwin* a Priest, his Sisters Son, with commission to baptise all the vanquisht, who meant to save thir lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Iland, met with much more hostility;

681.

Sax. an.

683.

Sax. an.

Bed. l. 4. c. 15

Malms.

684.

Bed. l. 4. c. 16

for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Ile, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of some wounds receav'd, and by his appointment, after instruction and Baptism first giv'n them, harshly put to death, which the youths are said above thir Age to have Christianly sufferd. In *Kent*, *Lothair* dy'd this year of his wounds receav'd in fight against the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent Death, left the land expos'd a prey either to home-bred usurpers, or neighbouring invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking advantage from thir civil distempers, and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harrafs'd the Country, untouch'd of a long time by any hostile incursion. But the *Kentish* men, all parties uniteing against a common Enemy, with joint power so oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the flight with 12 men of his Company, seeking shelter in a House, was beset and therein burnt by the persuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disorderd Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chaiseing Enemy; nor could be got out of the Province, till both by fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length *Victred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdome, both settl'd at home all things in peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both *West* and *East*, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, fought a fore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherein *Elswin* Brother to *Ec-*

685.  
*Malmf.*

*Sax. an.*  
*Malmf.*

686.

687.

*Bed.*



*frid*, a youth of 18 years, much belov'd; was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of blood, peace was happily made by the grave exhortation of Archbishop *Theodore*, a pecuniary fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as some satisfaction for the loss of his Brothers life. Another adversity befell *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means of *Ethildrith* his Wife, King *Anna's* Daughter, who having tak'n him for his Husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelve years in the obstinate refusal of his bed, thereby thinking to live the purer life. So perversely then was chastity instructed against the Apostles rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veild her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd 7 years after the pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak'n Wedlock, though now canoniz'd *St. Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had sent *Bertus* with a power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, saith *Bede*, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day: miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallow'd or profane, they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in thir full avengement upon *Ecfrid*. For he the next year, against the mind and persuasion of his sagest friends, and especially of *Cudbert* a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had bin subject to *Northumberland*, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights overtopped with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, saith *Bede*, military valour began among the Saxons to decay, nor only the *Picts*, till then

then peaceable, but some part of the *Britans* also recover'd by Armes thir liberty for many years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfrid*, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which place in his Brothers Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his Kingdom. *Kedwalla* having now with great disturbance of his Neighbours reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receive Baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferr'd, and accordingly, on *Easter Day*, 689. he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his name chang'd to *Peter*. All which notwithstanding, surpris'd with a Disease, he outliv'd not the Ceremony so far sought, much above the space of 5 weeks, in the Thirtieth year of his Age, and in the Church of *St. Peter* was there buried, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppress'd the Land with like greevances, as *Kedwalla* had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no Bishop among them. His first expedition was into *Kent*, to demand satisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Victred* loth to hazard all for the rash act of a few, deliver'd up 30 of those that could be found accessory, or as others say, pacifi'd *Ina* with a great sum of money. Mean while, at the incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Priest eminent for learning, past over Sea, having 12 others in Company, with intent to preach the Gospel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin* Cheif Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Frisia*, by his countenance

*Malmf. Sax.*  
*an. Ethel-*  
*werd.*

countenance and protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of conversion much the easier; and *Wilbrod* the first Bishoprick in that Nation. But two Priests, each of them *Hewald* by name, and for distinction surnam'd from the colour of thir Hair, the black and the white, by his example, piously affected to the Souls of thir Country-men the old *Saxons*, at thir coming thither to convert them met with much worse entertainment. For in the House of a Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discoverd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of thir coming suspected; they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcher'd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at such violence offerd to his Strangers, sending Armed Men, slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in *Mercia*, *Ostred* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda's* Epitomy records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. And the year following, *Bertred* a *Northumbrian* General was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred* 7 years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the Monk, and resign'd his Kingdome to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Osfred* a Child of 8 years to succeed him. Four years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdome, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Constantine*, and shorn a Monk spent there the residue of his daies. *Kelred* succeeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before. With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *East-Saxons*,

697.

698.

704.

705.

709.

710.  
Sax. an.  
Huntingd.  
711.  
Bed. Epit.  
715.  
Sax. an.  
Sax. an.  
Huntingd.  
716.

718.  
L. 5. c. 5.  
725.  
728.

*Saxons*, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country ; a comely Person in the prime of his youth , much desir'd of the people ; and such his vertue by report, as might have otherwise bin worthy to have reign'd. *Ina* the *West-Saxon* one year after fought a Battell, at first doubtfull, at last successfull, against *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next year *Bertrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and slaughterd them, saith *Huntingdon*, to the full avengment of *Ecfriðs* Death. The fowrth year after, *Ina* had another doubtfull and cruell Battel at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltshire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the year following a lamentable Death : for as he sat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly possess'd with an evill Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as *Boniface* Archbishop of *Ments*, an English man, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of Kin, who succeeded him. *Osfred* also the young *Northumbrian* King, slain by his Kindred in the 11. of his Reign, for his vitious life and incest committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred* succeeded and aveng'd, he reigning two years left *Osfred* in his room. In whose 7th year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Vicfred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having reign'd 34 years, and some part of them with *Snebbard*, as *Beda* testifies, he left behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Aldric* his Heirs. Three years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the space of two weeks in *January*, bending thir blaze toward the North, at which time the *Saracens* furiously invaded *France*, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow. The same year in *Northumberland*,

land, *Osric* dying or slain, adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Successor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his story; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the process of his Reign met with many adverse commotions, wherof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* 7 years before, having slain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, giv'n usually to none but of the blood Royal, and the 4th. year after overthrow and slain *Albright* another *Clito*, driv'n from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquish't also the *East-Angles* in more then one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the year, whether to expiate so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, *Malmsbury* saith, at the persuasion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his dayes; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of *saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown; No less then the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we believe a digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor, was the first King Crown'd of English and British, since the *Saxons* entrance; of the British by means of his second Wife, some way related to *Cadwallader* last King of *Wales*, which I had not noted being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. After *Ina*, by a surer Author, *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this side *Humber*, with thir Kings: the *Picts* were in league with the English, the *Scots* peaceable within thir bounds, and the *Britans* part were in thir own Government, part subject to the English. In which peacefull state of the land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercise of Armes, be-

Bede.

731.

took them to the Cloister : and not content so to do at home, many in the days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laics, Men and Woemen, hasting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themselves no where sure of Eternal Life, till they were Cloisterd there. Thus representing the state of things in this Iland, *Beda* surceas'd to write. Out of whom chiefly hath bin gatherd, since the *Saxons* arrival, such as hath bin deliverd, a scatterd story pickt out heer and there, with some trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles ; toward the latter end so bare of civill matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a Calendar rather than a History, tak'n up for the most part with succession of Kings, and computation of years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Thir actions we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what cause wag'd, or by what Councells carried on, no care was had to let us know : wherby thir strength and violence we understand, of thir wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation ; Kings one after another leaving thir Kingly Charge, to run thir heads fondly into a Monks Cowle : which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Danish* Invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of *Beda*. Left only to obscure and blockish Chronicles ; whom *Malmsbury*, and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they then we had better Authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt to interline with conjectures and surmises of thir own : them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmsbury* must be acknowledged,

knowledg'd, both for stile and judgment, to be far the best Writer of them all : but what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbish in the rest, *Florence of Worster*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon of Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Mathew of Westminster*, and many others of obscurer note, with all thir monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only Registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and somtimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travail rather then not know at once what may be known of our antient story, sifted from Fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo ; and to save others, if they please the like unpleasing labour ; except those who take pleasure to be all thir life time, rakeing in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals ; but to my task now as it befalls. In the year 733. on the 18<sup>th</sup>. Kalends of *September*, was an Eclipse of the Sun about the third howr of day, obscureing almost his whole Orb as with a black sheild. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia*, beseig'd and took the Castle or Town of *Somerton* : and two years after, *Beda* our Historian dy'd, some say the year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three years after became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the severest, for he brought those Monks from milk and water, to Wine and Ale ; in which doctrine no doubt but they were soon docil, and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all under pretense of following (I use the Authors words) poor *Christ*, by voluntary poverty : no marvel then if such applause were giv'n by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert* his Uncle, he left the Kingdom, whose brother *Ecbert*, Arch-

733.  
Sax. an.  
*Ethelwerd.*

735.  
738.  
*Malmf.*

740.

Archbishop of *Tork* built a Library there. But two years after, while *Eadbert* was busied in War against the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, assaulted part of *Northumberland* in his absence, as the supplement of *Beda's* Epitomy records. In the *West-Saxons*, *Edclard* who succeeded *Ina*, having bin much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oswald* his Kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the same lineage to succeed him: who at first had much War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, and various success, but joyning with him in League two years after, made War on the Welch: *Huntingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports, another Battel fought between *Britans* and *Picts* the year ensueing. Now was the Kingdome of *East-Saxons* drawing to a Period, for *Sigeward* and *Senfred* the Sons of *Sebbi* having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who soon quitted his Kingdome to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath been said, the Government was conferr'd on *Selred* Son of *Sigebert* the good, who having rul'd 38 years, came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom *Smithred* was the last King, driv'n out by *Ecbert* the *West-Saxon*: but *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they also were dissolv'd. *Cuthred* had now reign'd about nine years, when *Kuiric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a military tumult slain by his own Souldiers. The same year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* reign'd in his stead. But after two years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whose War with the *Picts* hath bin above-mention'd, made now such Progress

741.

*Malmf.**Sax. an.*

743.

*Sim. Dun.*

744.

*Hoved.**Malmf.**Sax. an.*

746.

748.

*Sax. an.**Huntingd.*

750.



there, as to subdue *Kyle*, so saith the Auctarie of *Bede*, and other Countries thereabout, to his dominion; While *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon* had a fight with *Ethelhun*, one of his Nobles, a stout Warriar, envi'd by him in some matter of the Common-wealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be understood (others *Huntingd.* interpret it Sedition) and with much ado over- 752. coming, took *Ethelhun* for his valour into favour, *Camden.* by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelfth or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a set Battell with *Ethelbald* the Mercian at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*; one year after against the Welch, which 753. was the last but one of his life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the annal Text, makes a terrible description of that fight between *Cuthred* and *Ethelbald*, and the Prowess of *Ethelhun*, at *Beorford*, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal; and both in that and the latter conflict, gives Victory to *Cuthred*; af- *Sax. an.* ter whom *Sigebert*, uncertain by what right, his Kins- 754. man, saith *Florent*, step'd into the Throne, whom *Malmf.* hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, *Kimwulf* joining with most of the Nobility, dispossest of all but *Hamshir*, that Province he lost also within a year, together with the love of all those who 755. till then remain'd his adherents, by slaying *Cumbran*, one of his Chief Captains, who for a long time had faithfully serv'd, and now dissuaded him from incensing the people by such Tyrannical practices. *Huntingd.* Thence flying for safety into *Andreds Wood*, *Huntingd.* forsak'n of all, he was at length slain by the Swineheard of *Cumbran* in revenge of his Maister, and *Kimwulf* who had undoubted right to the Crown, joyfully saluted King. The next year *Eadbert* the 756. *Northumbrian* joining forces with *Unust* King of the *Picts*,

Camden.

Camd.

757.

Sax. an.

Epit. Bed.

Sim. Dun.

758.

Sim. Dun.

Eccles. L. 2.

759

*Picts*, as *Simeon* writes, besieg'd and took by surrender the City *Alcluth*, now *Dunbritton* in *Lennox*, from the *Britans* of *Cumberland*; and ten days after, the whole Army perish'd about *Niwanbirig*, but to tell us how, he forgetts. In *Mercia*, *Ethelbald* was slain, at a place call'd *Secandune*, now *Seckinton* in *Warwickshire*, the year following, in a bloody fight against *Cuthred*, as *Huntingdon* surmises, but *Cuthred* was dead two years before; others write him murder'd in the night by his own Guard, and the Treason, as some say, of *Beornred*, who succeeded him; but ere many Months, was defeated and slain by *Offa*. Yet *Ethelbald* seems not without cause, after a long and prosperous Reign, to have fall'n by a violent Death; not shameing on the vain confidence of his many Alms, to commit uncleanness with consecrated Nuns, besides Laic Adulteries, as the Archbishop of *Ments* in a letter taxes him and his Predecessor, and that by his example most of his Peers did the like; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a slothfull off-spring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that Kingdome, as it fell out not long after. The next year *Osmund*, according to *Florence*, ruleing the *South-Saxons*, and *Swithred* the *East*, *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, following the steps of his Predecessor, got him into a Monks Hood; the more to be wonder'd, that having reign'd worthily 21 years, with the love and high estimation of all, both at home and abroad, able still to govern, and much entreated by the Kings his Neighbours, not to lay down his charge; with offer on that condition to yeild up to him part of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd from his resolution, but relinquish'd his Royal Office to *Oswulf* his Son; who at the years end, though without just cause,

cause, was slain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd *Ethelbert*, Son of *Victred*, the second of that name in *Kent*. After *Oswulf*, *Ethelwald*, otherwise call'd *Mollo*, was set up King; who in his third year had a great Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, slew *Offwin* a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory. But the third year after, fell by the treachery of *Alcred*, who assum'd his place. The fowrth year after which, *Cataracta* an antient and fair City in *Torkeshire*, was burnt by *Arnred* a certain Tyrant, who the same year came to like end. And after five years more, *Alcred* the King depos'd and forsak'n of all his people, fled with a few, first to *Bebba*, a strong City of those parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son of *Mollo*, was crown'd in his stead. Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerfull, had subdu'd a Neighbouring people by *Simeon*, call'd *Hestings*; and fought successfully this year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a place call'd *Occanford*: the Annals also speak of wondrous Serpents then seen in *Suffex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon* giv'n small proof of his valour in several Battels against the Welch heretofore; but this year 775. meeting with *Offa*, at a place call'd *Befington*, was put to the worse, and *Offa* won the Town for which they contended. In *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecce*, treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was himself the next year driv'n into banishment, *Elfwald* the Son of *Oswulf* succeeding in his place, yet not without civil broils; for in his second year *Osbald* and *Ethelheard*, two Noblemen, raising Forces against him, routed *Bearne* his General, and persueing, burnt him at a place call'd *Sele-tune*. I am sensible how wearisom it may likely be to

762.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Mat West.*

765.

*Sim. Dun.*

769.

774.

*Sim. Dun.*

775.

*Sax. an.*

778.

*Sim. Dun.*

780.

*Sim. Dun.*

read of so many bare and reasonless Actions, so many names of Kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a Scene: what would it be to have inserted the long Bead-roll of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, and thir doeings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to morality, swelling my Authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted; and left as their propriety, who have a mind to write the Ecclesiastical matters of those Ages; neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of History with rugged names of places unknown, better harp'd at in *Camden*, and other Chorographers. Six years therfore pass'd over in silence, as wholly of such Argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of *Kenwulf* the *West-Saxon*; who having laudably reign'd about 31 years, yet suspecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert*, the former King, intended to usurp the Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brothers expulsion, had commanded him into banishment; but he lurking heer and there on the borders with a small Company, having had intelligence that *Kenwulf* was in the Country thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*, at the House of a Woeman whom he lov'd, went by night and beset the place. *Kenwulf* over-confident either of his Royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with the few about him, runs feirly at *Kineard*, and wounds him sore, but by his followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the Kings return, *Osfic* and *Wivert*, two Earles hasted with a great number to the House, where *Kineard* and his fellows yet remain'd. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promise

786.

*Ethelwerd*  
*Malmf.*

*Sax. ann.*

*Camd.*

mise of great gifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hunderd. *Kinwulf* was succeeded by *Birhtic*, being both descended of *Kerdic* the the Founder of that Kingdome. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two years after slain miserably by the conspiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others say of the whole people at *scilcester* by the Roman Wall; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagustald*, now *Hexham* upon *Tine*, and some miracles there said to be done, are alleg'd to witness; and *Siggan* 5 years after laid violent hands on himself. *Osfred* Son of *Alcred* advanc't into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one year driv'n out, left his seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten years of banishment (imprisonment, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand. The third year of *Birhtic* King of *West-Saxons*, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this Land. For three Danish Ships, the first that had bin seen heer of that Nation arriving in the West, to visit these, as was suppos'd, Foren Merchants, the Kings gatherer of Customes taking Horse from *Dorechester*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir ladeing at the Kings Custome House, they slew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines, and hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Island. Of this Danish first arrival, and on a sudden worse then hostile Aggression, the Danish History far otherwise relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and thir spoilfull march far into

788.

*Sim. Dun.*  
*Malmf.*

*Camd.*

*Malmf.*

*Sim. Dun.*  
789.

*Pontan. L. 3.*

the Country; though soon repell'd by the Inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to thir Ships: But from what cause, what reason of state, what Authority or publick counsell the invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmarke*, and long after, was a man studious more of peace and quiet then of warlike matters. These therefore seem rather to have bin some wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of Christianity, seeking booties on any land of Christians, came by chance or weather on this shore. The next year *Ofred* in *Northumberland*, who driv'n out by his Nobles had giv'n place to *Ethelred*, was tak'n and forcibly shav'n a Monk at *Torke*. And the year after, *Oelf*, and *Oelswin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, were drawn by fair promises from the principal Church of *Torke*, and after by command of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wonwaldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancashire*, now call'd *Winandermere*. Nor was the third year less bloody; for *Ofred*, who not likeing a shav'n Crown, had desir'd banishment and obtain'd it, returning from the Ile of *Man* with small Forces, at the secret but deceitfull call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also tak'n, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, therupon married *Elfled* the Daughter of *Offa*: for in *Offa* was found as little Faith or mercy. He the same year having drawn to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*, with fair invitations to marry his Daughter, caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his Kingdome wrongfully seis'd, by the wicked counsel of his Wife, saith *Mat. West.* an-

*Pentan. L. 4.*

790.

*Sim. Dun.*

791.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Camden.*

792.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Sim. Dun.*

*Eccles. L. 2.*

nexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which violence and bloodshed to make attonement, with Fryers at lest, he bestows the reliques of *St. Alban*, in a shrine of Pearl and Gold. Far worse it far'd the next year with the reliques in *Lindisfarne*; where the *Danes* landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fryers kill'd some, carried away others Captive, sparing neither Priest nor Lay: which many strange thunders and fiery Dragons, with other impressions in the air seen frequently before, were judg'd to fore signifye. This year *Alric* third Son of *Vicfred* ended in *Kent* his long Reign of 34 years: with him ended the race of *Hengist*: thenceforth whomsoever wealth or faction advanc'd, took on him the name and state of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784. name *Ealmond* then reigning in *Kent*; but that consists not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him nowhere else mentiond. The year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a strenuous and suttle King; he had much intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at first enmity, to the interdicting of commerce on either side, at length much amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himself yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of *England* in those days had sent Orator into *France*, to maintain good correspondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, saith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual tribute to the Pope out of every House in his Kingdome; for yeilding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfeild* in his own Dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *British* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Ecsferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great hope, who also had bin Crown'd 9 years before his

793.

*Sim. Dun.*

794.

*Malms.**Affer. Men.**Sim. Dun.*

Fathers Decease, restoring to the Church what his Father had seis'd on: yet within fowr Months by a sickness ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the same Progeny bequeath'd his Kingdom. Mean while the *Danish* Pirats who still wasted *Northumberland*, ventring on shoar to spoil another Monastery at the mouth of the River *Don*, were assail'd by the English, thir Cheif Captain slain on the place; then returning to Sea, were most of them Ship-wrack'd; others driv'n again on shoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this thir punishment to the power of St. *Cudbert*, offended with them for the rifling of his Covent. Two years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at last from the fate of many his predecessors, miserably slain by his people, some say deservedly, as not inconscius with them who train'd *Osfred* to his ruin. *Osbald* a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in less then a month, deserted and expell'd, was forc'd to fly at last from *Lindisfarne* by Sea to the *Pictish* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* six years before had commanded to be put to Death at *Rippon*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recall'd, was in *Torke* created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the Annals call *Eadbright* (so different they often are one from another, both in timeing and in nameing) by some means having usurp'd regal power, after two years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him tak'n Pris'ner, and soon after, out of pious commiseration let go: but not receav'd of his own, what became of him, *Malmsbury* leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to

796.

*Sim. Dun.*



## Book 4. *The History of England.*

183

put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conspired against *Ethelred*, now also raising War against *Eardulf*, under *Wada* thir Cheif Captain, after much havock on either side at *Langbo*, by *Whaley* in *Lancashire*, the Conspirators at last flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The same year *London*, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consum'd. The year 800. made way for great alteration in *England*, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *West-Saxon*; him *Birhtic* dying Childless left next to reign, the only survivor of that lineage, descended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more then ordinary worth growing up in him; which *Birhtic* fearing, and with all his juster title to the Crown, secretly sought his life, and *Ecbert* perceiving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: but he having married *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birhtic*, easily gave ear to his Embassadors; coming to require *Ecbert*, he again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into *France*; but after three years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his education, *Charles* the Great then reigning, he was call'd over by the publick voice (for *Birhtic* was newly dead) and with general applause created King of *West-Saxons*. The same day *Ethelmund* at *Kinneresford*, passing over with the *Worcestershire* men, was met by *Weolstan* another Nobleman with those of *Wiltshire*, between whom happ'n'd a great fray, wherein the *Wiltshire* men overcame, but both Dukes were slain, no reason of their quarrel writ'n; such

798.

*Sim. Dm.*

800.

*Malmf.*

*Sax. an.*

such bickerings to recount, met oft'n in these our Writers, what more worth is it then to Chronicle the Wars of Kites, or Crows, flocking and fighting in the Air? The year following, *Eardulf* the *Northumbrian*, leading forth an Army against *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, for harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelats, Armes were laid aside, and amity soon sworn between them. But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birhtric*, a woeman every way wicked, in malice especially cruel, could not or car'd not to appease the general hatred justly conceiv'd against her; accusom'd in her Husbands days to accuse any whom she spighted; and not prevailing to his ruin, her practice was by poison secretly to contrive his Death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which she had temperd, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sip'd therof only, and in a while after still pineing away, ended his days; the favourite drinking deeper found speedier the operation. She fearing to be questiond for these facts, with what treasure she had, pass'd over-sea to *Charles* the Great, whom with rich gifts coming to his presence, the Emperour courtly receav'd with this pleasant proposal: Choose *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son stood by him) to be thy Husband. She no dissembler of what she lik'd best, made easie answer. Were it in my choise, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger man. To whom the Emperour between jest and earnest, hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow'd on thee my Son; but since thou hast chos'n him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess; for that life it may seem,

801.  
*Sim. Dun.*

*Malmf. L. 2.*  
*Asser.*

802:  
*Sim. Dun.*

seem, she chose next to profess; but being a while after detected of unchastity, with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence; from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a City of *Italy*, she finish'd at last in beggery her shamefull life. In the year 805. *Cuthred*, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, instead of *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, having obscurely reign'd 8 years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Eardulf* the year following was driv'n out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who Reign'd two years in his room; after whom *Eandred* Son of *Eardulf* 33 years; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better Authors: Much less that which *Buchanan* relates, the year following, of *Acain* King of *Scots*, who having reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts* with 10000 *Scots*, against *Athelstan* a Saxon or English-man, then wasting the *Pictish* Borders; that *Hungus* by the aid of those *Scots* and the help of *St. Andrew* thir Patron, in a Vision by night, and the appearance of his cross by day, routed the astonisht English, and slew *Athelstan* in fight. Who this *Athelstan* was, I believe no man knows; *Buchanan* supposes him to have been some *Danish* Commander, on whom King *Alfred*, or *Alfred*, had bestow'd *Northumberland*; but of this I find no footstep in our antient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it must be little less then 100 years after; this *Athelstan* therefore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have bin the fancy of some Legend then any war-rantable Record. Meanwhile *Ecbert*, having with much Prudence, Justice, and Clemency, a work of more then one year, establish'd his Kingdome and

805.

Malmf.

Sax. ann.

806.

Huntingd.

Sim. Dun.

808.

Mat. West.

809.

Sim. Dun.

813.

Sax. ann.

himself in the affections of his people, turns his first enterprise against the *Britans*, both them of *Cornwal* and those beyond *Seavern*; subduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the 6th. year after, having reign'd with great praise of his religious mind and vertues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son *Kenelm*; a Child of seaven years, was committed to the care of his Elder Sister *Quendrid*; who with a female ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his nurture, to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The murder, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a writt'n note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long story, told, though out of order, by *Malmsbury*; and under the year 821. by *Ass. West.* where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous then I wish my Readers. Only the note was to this purpose.

*Lie in a mead of Kine under a Thorn,  
Of head bereft is th' poor Kenelm King-born.*

820.  
*Ingulf.*  
823.  
*Sax. an.*

*Kcolnulf* the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one years Reign was driv'n out by one *Bernulf* an Usurper: who in his third year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by *Ebert*, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at *Ellandune* or *Wilton*: yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently found in thir computations. *Bernulf* thence retiring to the *East-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the late seizure of *Offa*, was by them met in the field and slain: but they doubting what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both King and people to the Sovranty of *Ebert*. As for the

the Kings of *East-Angles*, our Annals mention them not since *Ethelwald*; him succeeded his Brothers *Florent*. Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, *Genealog.* well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left *Bed. L. 2. c.* the Kingdom to *Beorn*, he to *Ethelred* the Father of <sup>15</sup> this *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiously put to Death. *Simcon* and *Hoveden*, in the year 749. write that *Elf-mald* King of *East-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna* and *Albert* shar'd the Kingdom between them; but where to insert this among the former successions is not easie, nor much material: after *Ethelbrite*, none is nam'd of that Kingdom till thir submitting now to *Ecbert*: he from this Victory against *Bernulf* sent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *At-flan* Bishop of *Sbirburn*, and *Wulfard* a Chief Commander, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his 18th. year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; whereupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suffex*, and lastly *Essex*, with her King *Smithred*, became subject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, the first in order set down in *Saxon Annals*, being his fight against the *Devonshire Welch*, at a place call'd *Gasulford*, now *Camelsford* in *Cornwal*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after *Camd.* two years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinsman <sup>825.</sup> on the *East-Angles*, was by them with his five Consuls, *Inguif.* as the Annals call them, surpris'd and put to the Sword: and *Withlaf* his successor first vanquish't, then upon submission with all *Mercia*, made tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it self was fall'n to shivers; thir Kings one after another so oft'n slain by the people, no man dareing, though never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the

space of 33 years, after the Death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the Country. Which mis-rule among them, the *Danes* having understood, oft-times from thir Ships entring far into the land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, waisting Towns, Churches, and Monasteries, for they were yet Heathen: The *Lent* before whose coming, on the North-side of *St. Peters* Church in *Torke*, was seen from the roof to rain blood. The causes of these calamities, and the ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in those days, attributes in several Epistles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of lerning, which crept in among them after the Death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Archbishop; thir neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of thir Preists and Nuns, discovering thir vain and wanton minds, examples are also read, eev'n in *Beda's* days, of thir wanton deeds: thence Altars defil'd with perjuries, Cloisters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with blood of thir Princes, civil dissentions among the people, and finally all the same vices which *Gildas* alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britans*. In this estate *Ecbert*, who had now conquer'd all the South, finding them in the year 827. (for he was march'd thither with an Army to compleat his Conquest of the whole Iland) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the yoke without resistance, *Eandred* thir King becoming Tributary. Thence turning his forces the year following, he subdu'd more throughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

827.

828.

*Met. West.*

The End of the Fourth Book.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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The Fifth Book.

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**T**HE summe of things in this Iland, or the best part therof, reduc't now under the power of one man; and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time heer before unless in Fables; men might with some reason have expected from such Union, peace and plenty; greatness, and the flourishing of all Estates and Degrees: but far the contrary fell out soon after, Invasion, Spoil, Desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly

*Calvisius.**Pontanus.*

commonly call'd, and sometimes *Dacians*, by others, the same with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themselves were at first reputed, and much more; for the *Saxons* first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for; unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came most of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmarke*, as *Danish* Writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the same; then in this invasion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own posterity. And *Normans* afterwards, none but antienter *Normans*. Which invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchie stood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and people, excited by thir neerest concerns, had more industriously defended thir own bounds, then depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser Kingdoms revolting from the *West-Saxon* yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with thir own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they sought to repell the danger nigh at hand, rather then jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by thir own vices for no condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to punish our instrumental punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britans* were at their arrival, brok'n with luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of Arms,

and



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and the study of all vertuous knowledge; some be-  
took them to over-worldly or vitious practices;  
others to religious Idleness and Solitude, which  
brought forth nothing but vain and delusive visions;  
easily perceav'd such, by thir commanding of things,  
either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly for-  
bidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses,  
Idols; add to these ostentation of Alms, got oft-  
times by rapine and oppression, or intermixt with  
violent and lustfull deeds, sometimes prodigally be-  
stow'd as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed.  
What longer suffering could there be, when Reli-  
gion it self grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest  
shews of purity were impur'd?

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### *Ecbert.*

**E***cbert* in full highth of glory, having now en-  
joy'd his Conquest seaven peacefull years, his  
victorious Army long since disbanded, and the ex-  
ercise of Armes perhaps laid aside, the more was  
found unprovided against a sudden storm of *Danes*  
from the Sea, who landing in the 32. of his Reigh,  
wasted *shepey* in *Kent*. *Ecbert* the next year, ga-  
thering an Army, for he had heard of thir arrival  
in 35 Ships, gavethem Battail by the River *Carr* in  
*Dorsetshire*; the event wherof was, that the *Danes*  
kept thir ground, and encamp't where the field was  
fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Durda* and *Osmund*,  
and two Bishops, as some say, were there slain. This  
was the only check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert*  
in all his time receav'd. For the *Danes* returning

832.

*Sax. an.*

833.

*Sax. an.*

835. two years after with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the *Cornish*, who had enterd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these invasions against *Ecbert*, the *Danish* History is not silent; whether out of thir own Records or ours, may be justly doubted; for of these times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholding rather to Ont-landish Chronicles than any Records of thir own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next year with glory ended his days, and was buried at *Winchester*.

Sax. an.  
Pontan. hist.  
Dan. L. 4.

836.  
Sax. an.

### *Ethelwolf.*

*Ethelwolf* the Son of *Ecbert* succeeded, by *Malmshury* describ'd a man of mild nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therfore contented with the antient *West-Saxon* bounds, he gave to *Ethelstan* his Brother, or Son, as some write, the Kingdome of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Saxon* Annalist, whose Authority is Elder, saith plainly, that both these Countries and *Essex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The unwarlike disposition of *Ethelwolf*, gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next year with 33 Ships; but *Wulfheard*, one of the Kings Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southampton* with great slaughter; himself dying the same year, of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have bin one of *Ecberts* old Commanders; who was sent with *Ethelwolf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethel-*

837.  
Sax. an.

Mat. West.

*helam* another of the Kings Captains with the *Dorsetshire* men, had at first like success against the *Danes* at *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood thir ground, and put the English to rout. Worse was the success of Earl *Herebert* at a place call'd *Mereferwar*, slain with the most part of his Army. The year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-Angles*, and *Kent*, much mischief was don by thir landing; where the next year, embold'nd by success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respit to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next year in 35 Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good thir ground. In *Northumberland*, *Eandred* the Tributary King deceasing, left the same tenure to his Son *Ethelred* driv'n out in his fowrth year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation halting forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvetheli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was slain the fowrth year after. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the *Danes* next year after met with some stop in the full course of thir outrageous insolences. For *Earnulf* with the men of *Somerſet*, *Aſtan* the Bishop, and *Oſric* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the Rivers mouth of *Pedridan*, slaughtered them in great numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This repulse queld them, for ought we hear, the space of six years; Then also renewing thir, invasion with little better success. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and over-threw them at *Wigganbeorch* with

838.

Sax. an.

839.

Sax. an.

840.

Sax. an.

Sim. Dun.

Mat. West.

844.

845.

Sax. an.

851.

Sax. an.

Aſſer.

great destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealder* his General, thir great Army defeated, and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the rest driv'n off, however to ride out the Winter on that shoar, *Affer* saith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey Ile*. Hard it is, through the bad expression of these Writers, to define this fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea fight. Nevertheless with 50 Ships (*Affer* and others add 300) they entered the mouth of *Thames*, and made excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwend* writes, destroy'd both; of *London*, *Affer* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, successor of *Withlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then passing over *Thames* with thir powers into *Surrey*, and the *West-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receav'd a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This was counted a lucky year to *England*, and brought to *Ethelwolf* great reputation. *Burhed* therefore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* Kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid against the *North-Welch*, as then troublesome to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in person, and therby reduc'd them to obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son *Alfrid* a Child of five years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both consecrated to be King afterward, and adopted to be his Son; at home *Ealder* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with those of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at thir landing in *Tanet*, and at first put them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on either side, as left the loss equal on both: which

Huntingd.  
Mat West.

853.  
Sax. an.  
Affer.

which yet hinderd not the solemnity of a marriage at the feast of *Easter*, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, *Malmf.* and *Ethelswida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. How- 854.  
beit the *Danes* next year winterd again in *Shepey*. *Sax. an.* Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding human health sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of divine aid, registerd in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all impositions, but converted to the maintenance of Masses and Psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it self, in *William of Malmsbury*. *Affer* saith, de did it for the redemption of his Soul and the Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done some great matter to shew himself at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thether with young *Alfrid* again, and there staies a year, 855.  
when his place requir'd him rather heer in the field *Affer.* against Pagan Enemies lest wintring in his land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the bald, King of *France*. But *Affer.* ere his return, *Ethelbald* his eldest Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerset* conspir'd against him; thir complaints were, that he had tak'n with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out-landish Wife; for which they endeavourd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less then War: but the King abhorring civil discord, after many conferences tending to peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; division was made, but the matter so

carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great indignation, offering to the King thir utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund* lineal from the antient stock of those Kings, a youth of 14 years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all but his own Crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* bin driv'n out of thir Countrey, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd aid against *Donaldus* the *Scottish* King, to recover thir antient possession. *Osbert* who in person undertook the expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, over-secure of thir suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took Pris'n'r thir King, and persu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlinbridge*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Embassadors entreating peace, had it granted them on these conditions: the *Scots* were to quit all they had possess'd within the Wall of *Severus*: the limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlinbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side, *Dunbritton Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *Brittish* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had joind with *Osbert* in this Action, and so far extended on that side the *Brittish* limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themself's witness (and who would think them Fabulous to the disparagement of thir own Country?) how much wanting have bin our Historians to thir Countries Honour, in leting pass unmention'd

unmention'd an exploit so memorable, by them rememberd and attested, who are wont offer to extenuate then to amplify aught done in *Scotland* by the English? *Donaldus* on these conditions releas't, soon after dyes; according to *Buchanan*, in 858. *Ethelwolf* Chief King in *England*, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his Father at *Winchester*. He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; so that in his Fathers time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne; manning therefore his greatest affairs by the activity of two Bishops, *Alstan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithine* of *Winchester*. But *Alstan* is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William* of *Malmsbury*; the more vehemently no doubt for doing some notable damage to that Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome*, paid a Tributeto the Pope, continu'd to his dayes. However he were facil to his Son, and seditious Nobles, in yeilding up part of his Kingdome, yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeas'd. The *West-Saxon* had decreed ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birhtric*, that no Queen should sit in State with the King, or be dignifi'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should loose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death, he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, *Ethelbald*, and *Ethelbert*; to the younger *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, to the Elder all the rest; to *Peter* and *Paul* certain revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

*Ethelbald,*

*Ethelbald, and Ethelbert.*

*Affer.*  
*Malmf.*  
*Sim. Dun.*

860.

*Sax. an.*

**E***thelbald*, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love to his Fathers Wife; and whom at first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three years end, without doing aught more worthy to be rememberd; having reign'd two years with his Father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested by the *Danes*; not of Divine favour doubtless, but to his greater condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him buried at *Sherburn*, with great sorrow of the people, who miss'd him long after. *Mat. West.* saith, that he repented of his incest with *Judith*, and dismiss'd her: but *Affer* an Eye witness of those times, mentions no such thing.

*Ethelbert alone.*

**E***thelbald* by Death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Vertue and no blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peacefull; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the West with



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with a great Army, and sackt *Winchester*, were met by *Osric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelmolf* of *Barkshire*, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir booty. Five years after, about the time of his Death, they set foot again in *Tanet*; the *Kentish* men wearied out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain sum of money; but ere the peace could be ratifi'd, and the money gatherd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a sudden eruption in the night, soon wasted all the *East* of *Kent*. Mean while or something before, *Ethelbert* deceasing was buried as his Brother at *Sherburne*.

855.  
Sax. an.

### *Ethelred.*

**E***thelred* the third, Son of *Ethelmolf*, at his first coming to the Crown was entertain'd with a fresh invasion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *East-Angles*; there they winterd, and coming to terms of peace with the Inhabitants, furnish'd themselves of Horses, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of thir own: These Pagans, *Affer* saith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventur'd the next year to make thir way over land and over *Humber*, as far as *Torke*, then they found to thir hands imbroil'd in civil dissensions; thir King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Elfu* Leader of another faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by thir common danger, towards the years end with united powers made head against the *Danes* and prevail'd; but persueing them over-eagerly into

866.  
Sax. an.  
*Huntingd.*

867.  
Sax. an.

Assen

*Torke*, then but slenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; thir Kings also both slain, thir City burnt, saith *Malsbury*, the rest as they could, made thir peace, over-run and vanquisht as far as the River *Tine*, and *Egbert* of English race appointed King over them. *Bromton* no antient Author (for he wrote since *Mat. West.*) nor of much credit, writes a particular cause of the *Danes* coming to *Torke*: that *Brunn* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravisht, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The example is remarkable if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the *Danes* next year enterd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they spent the Winter. *Burhed* then King of that Country, unable to resist, implores the aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his Brother, they assembling thir Forces and joining with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel: the *Danes* not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians* weary of long suspense, enterd into conditions of peace with thir Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *Torke*, made thir abode there the space of one year, committing, some say, many cruelties. Thence imbarcking to *Lindsey*, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about *September* they came with like fury into *Kesstevan*, another part of *Lincolnshire*, where *Algar* the Earl of *Howland* now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hunderd stout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of *Croiland*, three hunderd from about *Boston*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd: *Osgot* Governour of *Lincoln* with 500. of that City,

868.

Assen.

869.

Sim. Dun.

870.

Ingulf.

all

all joyning together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, slew of them a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and persu'd the rest to thir Tents; but the night following, *Gothrun*, *Basæg*, *Osketil*, *Halsden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from several parts with great forces and spoils, great part of the English began to flink home. Nevertheless *Algar* with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and sustaining unmov'd the brunt of thir assaults, could not withhold his men at last from persueing thir counterfitted flight; wherby op'nd and disorder'd, they fell into the snare of thir Enemies, rushing back upon them. *Algar* and those Captains fore-nam'd with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill side, and slaying of such as follow'd them, manifold thir own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence passing on into the Country of *East-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monastery of *Elie*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* assailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himself tak'n, bound to a stake, and shot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country subdu'd. The next year with great supplies, saith *Huntingdon*, bending thir march toward the *West-Saxons*, the only people now left, in whom might seem yet to remain strength or courage likely to oppose them, they came to *Reading*, fortifi'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames*, and *Kenet*, and about three dayes after, sent out wings of Horse under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelmulf* Earl of *Barkshire*, at *Englefeild* a

871.  
Sax. ann.

Asser.

Village nigh, encounterd them, slew one of thir Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four dayes after came the King himself and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battail; and the *Danes* issuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either side great slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* lost his life; but the *Danes* loosing no ground, kept thir place of standing to the end. Neither did the English for this make less hast to another conflict at *Eggesdunc*, or *Ashdown*, four dayes after, where both Armies with thir whole force on either side met. The *Danes* were imbat-tail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by *Bascai* and *Halfden*, thir two Kings, the other by such Earls as were appointed; in like manner the English divided thir powers, *Ethelred* the King stood against thir Kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the Battail from his Orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherein *Bascai* (the *Danish* History names him *Erasmus* the Son of *Regicrus*) was slain. *Alfred* was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the field, with such resolution charg'd them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd *Sidroc* Elder and Younger, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Divisions, the *Danes* turn thir backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest persud'd till night. So much the more it may be wonderd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* 14 dayes after such an overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Basing*, under conduct, saith the *Danish* History, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the slain *Evacrus*, should obtain the Victory; especially since the new supply of *Danes* mention'd by *Affer*, arriv'd after this action. But after two Months, the King

and

and his Brother fought with them again at *Mertun*, in two Squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver thir meaning with more then wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for *Affer* is *Pontan. hist.* heer silent) to be the Chief Fountain of our story, *Dan. L. 4.* the ground and basis upon which the Monks later in time gloss and comment at thir pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Bishop only, but many valiant men lost thir lives. This fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; wherof, as is thought, King *Ethelred* *Camd.* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inscribes that he had his Deaths wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Danish History* 872. Of all these terrible landings and devastations by the *Danes*, from the days of *Ethelwolf* till thir two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Danish History* of best credit saith nothing; So little Wit or Conscience it seems they had to leave any memory of thir brutish, rather then manly actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of *Affer*, from *Dannubius*, rather then from *Denmarke*, more probable some barbarous Nations of *Prussia*, or *Livonia*, not long before seated more Northward on the *Baltic Sea*.

## Alfred.

**A**lfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had scarce perform'd his Brothers obsequies, and the solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the months end in hast with a small power he encounterd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and most part of the day foyl'd them; but unwarily following the Chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remain'd Masters of the field. This year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had bin fought against the *Danes* on the South-side of *Thames*, besides innumerable excursions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in fight, so that weary on both sides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next year the *Danes* took thir march to *London*, now expos'd thir prey, there they winterd, and thether came the *Mercians* to renue peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torksey* in *Lincolnshire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing thir Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbishire*, and there wintering, they constrein'd *Burberd* the King to fly into Forein parts, makeing seisure of his Kingdome, he running the direct way to *Rome*; with better reason then his Ancestors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the English School. His Kingdom the *Danes* farm'd out to *Kelmulf*, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with condition to be resign'd them when

872.

Sax. an.

873.

Sax. an.

Camden.

874.

Sax. an.

when they commanded. From *Rependune* they dislodg'd, *Hafden* thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winterd by the River *Tine*, and sub-  
 jecting all those quarters, wasted also the *Picts* and *British* beyond: but *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwynd*, other three of thir Kings moving from *Rependune*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole year. *Alfred* that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) met with 7 *Danish* Rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the English at that time were but little experienc't in Sea affairs. The next years first motion of the *Danes* was towards *Warham* Castle: where *Alfred* meeting them, either by policy, or their doubt of his power; *Ethelwerd* saith, by money brought them to such terms of peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others say upon certain Reliques (a Solemn Oath it seems which they never voutsaf'd before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the land: but falsifying that Oath, by night with all the Horse they had (*Affer* saith, slaying all the Horseman he had) stole to *Exeter*, and there winterd. In *Northumberland*, *Hafden* thir King began to settle, to divide the land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were march'd to *Exeter*, enterd the City, coursing now and then to *Warham*; but thir Fleet the next year sailing or rowing about the West, met with such a tempest neer to *Swanwich*, or *Gnavemic*, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and left the rest easie to be maisterd by those Gallies which *Alfred* had set there

875.  
Sax. an.

876.  
Sax. an.

Florent.

Florent.

877.  
Sax. an.

Affer.

878.

Sax. ann.

Sim. Dun.

Affer.

Camd.

there to guard the Seas, and streit'n *Exeter* of provision. He the while beleaguering them in the City; now humbl'd with the loss of thir Navy (two Navies, saith *Affer*, the one at *Gnavemic*, the other at *Swanwine*) distress'd them so, as that they gave him as many hostages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths, to keep thir covenanted peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming on, they departed into *Mercia*, wherof part they divided amongst themselves, part left to *Kelwulf* thir substituted King. The twelfe following, all Oaths forgott'n, they came to *Chippenhame* in *Wiltshire*, dispeopleing the Countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himself with a small Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny places, and for some time all alone, as *Florent* saith, sojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-herd, made afterwards for his devotion, and aptness to learning, Bishop of *Winchester*. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with 23 Ships from *North-wales*, where they had made great spoil, landed in *Devonshire*, nigh to a strong Castle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with 12 hunderd of thir men. Mean while the King about *Easter*, not despairing of his affairs, built a Fortrefs at a place call'd *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*, therin valiantly defending himself and his followers, frequently sallying forth. The 7th. week after, he rode out to a place call'd *Ecbryt-stone* in the East part of *Selwood*: thether resorted to him with much gratulation the *Somerset* and *Wiltshire* men, with many out of *Hampshire*, some of whom a little before had fled thir Country; with these marching to *Ethandune* now *Edindon* in *Wiltshire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Danish*



*Danish* power, and put them to flight. Then beseiging thir Castle, within fourteen days took it. *Malmesbury* writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the *Danish* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the habit of a Fidler ; by this means gaining access to the Kings Table, and somtimes to his Bed-Chamber, got knowledge of thir secrets, thir careless encamping, and thereby this opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The *Danes* by this misfortune brok'n, gave him more hostages, and renu'd thir Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Thir King *Gytro*, or *Gothrun*, offered willingly to receive Baptism, and accordingly came with 30 of his friends, to a place call'd *Aldra*, or *Aulre*, neer to *Camd.* *Athelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore* ; where *Alfred* receav'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelstan*. After which, they abode with him 12 daies, and were dismiss'd with rich presents. Whereupon the *Danes* remov'd next year to *Cirencester*, *879.* thence peaceably to the *East-Angles* ; which *Alfred*, *Sax. an.* as some write, had bestow'd on *Gothrun* to hold of him ; the bounds wherof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joining there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence pass't over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enterd so far conquering or wasting, as witness'd sufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemish* were no more able then the *English*, by Policy or prowess to keep off that *Danish* inundation from thir land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing ; Three years after (quiet the mean while) *882.* with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, *Sax. an.* and at first met with four of theirs, wherof two he took,

took, throwing the men over-board, then with two others, wherein were two of thir Princes, and took them also, but not without some loss of his own.

885.  
Sax. an. After three years another Fleet of them appear'd on these Seas, so huge that one part thought themselves sufficient to enter upon *East-France*, the other came to *Rocheſter*, and beleaguerd it, they within stoutly defending themselves, till *Alfred* with great Forces, coming down upon the *Danes*, drove them to thir Ships, leaving for haſt all thir Horſes behind them. The ſame year *Alfred* ſent a Fleet toward the *East-Angles*, then inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the mouth of *ſtour*, meeting with 16 *Daniſh* Ships, after ſome flight took them all, and ſlew the Souldiers aboard; but in thir way home lying careleſs, were overtak'n by another part of that Fleet, and came off with loſs, whereupon perhaps thoſe *Danes* who were ſettl'd among the *East-Angles*, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had ſworn to

886.  
Sax. an. *Alfred*, who ſpent the next year in repairing *London*, (beſeiging, ſaith *Huntingdon*) much ruind and unpeopl'd by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but thoſe who had bin led away Captive, ſoon return'd to thir dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by the King appointed thir Governour. But after 13 years reſpite of peace, another *Daniſh* Fleet of 250 Sail, from the *East* part of *France* arriv'd at the mouth of a River in *East Kent*, call'd *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood *Andred*, famous for length and bredth; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortreſs. After whom *Haeſten* with another *Daniſh* Fleet of 80 Ships, entring the mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a place call'd

call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceaving this, took of those *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in *Essex*, hostages, lest they should joyn, as they were wont, with thir Countrymen newly arriv'd. And by the next year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd so, as to be ready for either of them, who first should happ'n to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spar'd from strong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter foraging parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In conclusion rowling up and down, both sides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where the *Danes* by *Alfred's* Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the *Thames* to a certain Iland near *Coln* in *Essex*, or as *Camden* thinks, by *Colebrooke*, were beseig'd there by *Alfred* till provision fail'd the the beseigers, another part staid behind with thir King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the seige in *Colney*, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *East-Angles*, and with a hunderd Ships Coasting Southward, landed in *Devonshire*, and beseig'd *Exeter*; thether *Alfred* hasted with his powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: with whom the Citizens marching forth to *Beamsfet*, where *Hæsten* the *Dane* had built a strong Fort, and left a Garrison, while he himself with the main of his Army was enterd far into the Country, luckily surprise the Fort, maister the Garrison, make prey of all they find there; thir Ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many Prisoners, among whom,

894.  
Sax. an.

the Wife and two Sons of *Heafen* were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon *Heafen* gave Oath of Amitie and Hostages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by agreement, a summe of money. Nevertheless without regard of Faith giv'n, while *Alfred* was busied about *Exeter*, joining with the other *Danish* Army, he built another Castle in *Essex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Westward by the *Thames*, aided with *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglish Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in thir way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth*, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttington*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomery-shire*, the River running between, and there many weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes* who besieg'd *Exeter*, having eat'n part of thir Horses, the rest urg'd with hunger broke forth to thir fellows, who lay encamp't on the East-side of the River, and were all there discomfitted, with some loss of valiant men on the Kings party; the rest fled back to *Essex* and thir Fortres there. Then *Laf*, one of their Leaders, gatherd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglish Danes*, who leaving thir money, Ships, and Wives with the *East-Angles*, and marching day and night, sat down before a City in the West call'd *Wirheal* neer to *Chester*, and took it ere they could be overtak'n. The English after two daies seige hopeles to dislodge them, wasted the Country round to cut off from them all provision, and departed. Soon after which, next year the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirheal*, destitute of Vittles, enterd *North-Wales*; thence lad'n with spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *East-*

Camden.

895.

Sam. an.

*Angles* as far as *Essex*, where they seis'd on a small  
 Iland call'd *Merefig*. And heer again the Annals  
 record them to beseige *Exeter*, but without cohe-  
 rence of sence or story. Others relate to this pur-  
 pose, that returning by Sea from the Seige of *Exeter*, *Sim. Dun*  
 and in thir way landing on the Coast of *Sussex*, they *Florent*.  
 of *Cichester* sallied out and slew of them many hun-  
 dreds, taking also some of thir Ships. The same  
 year they who possess'd *Merefig*, intending to winter  
 thereabout, drew up thir Ships, some into the *Thames*,  
 others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank therof  
 built a Castle twenty miles from *London*; to assault  
 which the *Londoners* aided with other Forces march'd  
 out the Summer following, but were soon put to  
 flight, loosing fowr of the Kings Captains. *Hun- Sax. an.* 896.  
*tingdon* writes quite the contrary, that these fowr  
 were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs:  
 but little credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single.  
 For the King therupon with his Forces, lay en-  
 camp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not in-  
 fest them in time of Harvest; In the mean time, sut-  
 tlely devising to turn *Lee* stream several waies;  
 wherby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry ground:  
 which they soon perceaving, march'd over Land to  
*Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortress and win-  
 tered there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either  
 brok'n or brought away by the *Londoners*; but thir  
 Wives and Children they had left in safety with the  
*East-Angles*. The next year was pestilent, and be-  
 sides the common sort took away many great Earls, *Sax. an.* 897.  
*Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hamp-*  
*shire*, with many others; and to this evill, the  
*Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not  
 to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth,

robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of 60 or 70 Oars higher, swifter and steddier then such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirates, who had done much harm in the Ile of *Wight* and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtfull and intricate, part on the water, part on the Sands; not without loss of some eminent men on the English side. The Pirates at length were either slain or tak'n, two of them stranded; the men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her men much wounded: the same year not fewer then twenty of thir Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all thir men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* landing heer, as *Mat. West.* writes, though not in what part of the Iland, after an unsuccessful fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into *France* and conquerd the Country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the summe of what pass'd in three years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-guisted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spok'n, whether meant of the *Danes*, or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all vertuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900. the 51. of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried regally at *Winchester*; he

was.

900.  
After.

was born at a place call'd *Wunading* in *Barkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oslac* the Kings Cup-bearer, a *Goth* by Nation, and of noble descent. He was of person comlier then all his Brethren, of pleasing Tongue and gracefull behaviour, ready wit and memory ; yet through the fondness of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age ; but the great desire of learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his Bosome to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars and the cares of his Kingdome, yet leasure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate therof what he could to his people, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda's* History and others, permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth ; at twenty years of age not yet reigning, he took to Wife *Egelsmitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The extremities which befell him in the sixt of his Reign, *Neothan* Abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaints of such as injur'd and oppress'd repair'd to him, as then second person in the Kingdome for redress ; which neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling

willing perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowfull Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking regal charge, no man more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more severe in punishing unjust judges or obstinate offenders. Theeves especially and Robbers, to the terrour of whom in cross waies were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; so that justice seem'd in his daies not to flourish only, but to triumph: no man then hee more frugal of two pretious things in mans life, his time and his revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His time, the day, and night, he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equall portions: the one was for devotion, the other for publick or private affairs, the third for bodily refreshment: how each hour past, he was put in minde by one who had that Office. His whole annual revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equall parts; the first he imploi'd to secular uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his Souldiers, Houshold-Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn; the second was to pay his Architects and workmen, whom he had got together of several Nations; for he was also an Elegant Builder; above the Custome and conceit of Englishmen in those days: the third he had in readines to releive or honour Strangers according to thir worth, who came from all parts to see him and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uses, those of fowr sorts; the first



first to releive the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study sacred knowledge and liberal Arts, some say at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the releif of Foreign Churches, as far as *India* to the shrine of *St. Thomas*, sending thither *Sigelm* Bishop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; guists also and a letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sent many to *Rome*, and for them receav'd reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his noble minde, which renderd him the miror of Princes; his body was diseas'd in his youth with a great forenens in the Seige, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not disinabl'd to sustain those many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war,

### *Edward the Elder.*

**E***dw*ard the Son of *Alfred* succeeded, in learning *Malmf.* not equal, in power and extent of Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning of his Reign *Huntingd.* had much disturbance by *Ethelwald* an ambitious young man, Son of the Kings Uncle, or Cousin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliverd. He vainly avouching to have equal right with *Edward* of succession to the Crown, posses'd *901.* himself of *Winburne* in *Dorset*, and another Town *Sax. an.* diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or dye; but encompas'd with the Kings Forces at

*Bad-*

*Badburie* a place nigh, his heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither. About this time the *Kentish* men, against a multitude of *Danish* Pirates, fought prosperously at a place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records. *Ethelwald* aided by the *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three years after, sailing to the *East-Angles*, periwaded the *Danes* there to fall into the Kings Territory, who marching with him as far as *Creck-lad*, and passing the *Thames*, there wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and lad'n with spoils return'd home. The King with his powers makeing speed after them, between the *Dike* and *Ouse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridge-shire*, as far as the Fenns Northward, laid wast all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the *Kentish* men, though oft'n call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and join'd Battel with the King: where Duke *Sigulf* and Earl *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were slain; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* thir King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides; yet the *Danes* kept in thir power the burying of thir slain. What ever follow'd upon this conflict, which we read not, the King two years after with the *Danes*, both of *East-Angles*, and *Northumberland* concluded peace, which continu'd three years, by whomsoever brok'n: for at the end thereof King *Edward* raising great Forces out of *West-*

Sex,

*sex* and *Mercia*, sent them against the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The King offer'd them terms of peace, but they rejecting all, enterd with the next year into *Mercia*, rendring no less hostility then they had suffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, saith *Florent*, were by the English in a set Battel overthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a hunderd Sail, others gon Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond *Severn*. *Ethelwerd*. The King guessing what might imbold'n them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them; Then following with the rest, set upon them in thir return over *Cantrig* in *Glostershire*, and slew many thousands, among whom *Ecmils*, *Hafden*, and *Hinguar* thir Kings, and many other harsh names in *Huntingdon*; the place also of this fight is variously writt'n by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfeild*. The year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had giv'n *London*, with his daughter in marriage; now dying, King *Edward* resum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoining, into his own hands, and the year after, built, or much repair'd by his Souldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either side *Lee*, and leaving a sufficient number at the work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Souldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Country, subject formerly to the *Danes*, yeilded themselves to his protection. Four years after (*Florent* allows but one year) the *Danes* from

911.

*Sax. ann.*

*Ethelwerd.*

912.

*Sax. ann.*

913.

*Sax. ann.*

917.

*Sax. ann.*

*Leister* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordshire*, committed much rapine, and in some Towns thereof great slaughter; while another party wasting *Hertfordshire*, met with other Fortune; for the Country-people inur'd now to such kind of incursions, joining stoutly together, fell upon the spoilers, recover'd thir own goods, with some booty from thir Enemies. About the sametime *Elfred* the Kings Sister sent her Army of *Mercians* into *Wales*, who routed the *Welch*, took the Castle of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and brought away the Kings Wife of that Country with other Prisoners. Not long after she took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Castle by a sharp assault. But the year ensueing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the lands end, came up to the mouth of *Severn*; there landing wasted the *Welch* Coast, and *Irchenfeild* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *British* Bishop, for whose ransome King *Edward* gave forty pound, but the men of *Hereford* and *Glostershire* assembling, put them to flight; slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, persu'd them to a Wood, and there beset, compell'd them to give hostages of present departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that op'nly they durst not; by night they twice ventur'd to land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchor'd by a small Island where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a place call'd *Deomed*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a moneth, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouse*

Huntingd.  
Camd.

918.

Sax. an.

ere his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Danish* Leader, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yielded him subjection. Wherupon the next year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took possession therof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Ouse*. Thence the year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having small hope to thrive heer, where things with such prudence were mannag'd against his interests, got leave of the King, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into *France*. Early the next year King *Edward* re-edifi'd *Tovechester*, now *Torchester*; and another City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leister* and *Northampton-shire*; notlikeing perhaps to be neighbour'd with Strong Towns, laid Seige to *Torchester*; [but they within repelling the assault one whole day till supplies came] quitted the Seige by night; and persud close by the beseig'd, between *Birnmud* and *Ailsbury* were surpris'd, many of them made Prisoners, and much of thir baggage lost. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *East-Angles*, finding that Castle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*; judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir excursions; and soon after went forth with design to assail *Bedford*: but the Garrison issuing out, slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this a greater Army of them gatherd out of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, came and beseig'd the City call'd *Wigingmere* a whole Day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of thir Cattel: wher-

919.

*Sax. an.*

920.

*Sax. an.*

921.

*Sax. an.*

upon the English from Towns and Citties round about joining Forces, laid Seige to the Town and Castle of *Temsford*, and by assault took both; slew thir King with *Toglea* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather then yeild. Encourag'd by this, the men of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Essex*, enterprised the Seige of *Colchester*, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the Town and putting to Sword all the *Danes* therein, except some who escap'd over the Wall. To the succour of these, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *East-Angles*, united thir Force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguere *Maldon*; but that Town also timely releiv'd, they departed, not only frustrate of thir design, but so hotly persued, that many thousands of them lost thir lives in the flight. Forthwith King *Edward* with his *West-Saxons* went to *Passham* upon *Ouse*, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone Wall about *Torchester*; to him there Earl *Thursfert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with thir Army thereabout as far as *Weolud*, came and submitted. Wherat the Kings Souldiers joyfully cry'd out to be dismiss't home: therfore with another part of them he enterd *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where breaches had bin made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at *Colnchester* by the next remove of his Army, after which both *East* and *West-Angles*, and the *Danish* Forces among them, yeilded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army also of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, surrendering themselves took the same Oath. The Summer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built

built a Castle there on the South-side of the River, where all the people of those quarters acknowledged him supream. Dureing his abode there, *Elsted* his Silter a martial Woman, who after her Husbands Death would no more marry, but gave herself to public affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring sometimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the Cheif Seat of *Mercia*, wherof by guift of *Alfred* her Father, she was Lady or Queen; wherby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did also *North-Wales* with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*, and *Jeothwell* thir Kings. Thence passing to *Nottingham*, he enterd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part English, part *Danes*, and receav'd fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheshire*, he built and fortified *Thelwel*; and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he sent to repair and fortifie *Manchester*. About Midsummer following he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over against it on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridg joyn'd them both; thence journied to a place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Pictland*; there also built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him honour as to his Sovran, together with the whole *Scotish* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, *Danish* Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both English, and *Danes*. The King also of a people thereabout call'd *Streathgledwalli* (the *North Welch*, as *Camden* thinks, of *Stratcluid* in *Denbigh-shire*, perhaps rather the *British* of *Cumberland*) did him homage, and not undeserv'd. For *Buchanan* himself confesses, that this King *Edward* with a small number of men compar'd to his

923.  
Sax. an.

924.  
Sax. an.

Buch. L. 6.

Enemies,

Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole united power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, slew most of the *Scotish* Nobility, and forc'd *Milcolmb*, whom *Constantine* the *Scotch* King had made General, and design'd Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight fore wounded. Of the English, he makes *Athelstan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and so far seems to confound times and actions, as to make this Battel the same with that fought by *Athelstan*, about 24 years after at *Brunesford*, against *Anlaf* and *Constantine*, wherof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occasion to inveigh against the English Writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm *Athelstan* to have bin supream King of *Britain*, *Constantine* the *Scotish* King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found therof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Surname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotish* affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* slain by *Machetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the year 1040. which gives cause of suspicion, that the affairs of *Scotland* before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to thir own Countryman, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the year following dy'd at *Farendon*; a builder and restorer eev'n in War, not a destroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives many Children; his eldest Daughter *Edgith* he gave in marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grand-Child of *Charles* the *Bald* above-mention'd; of the rest in place convenient. His Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at *Winchester*, in the Monastery by *Alfred*

Buch. L. 6.

925.  
Sax. an.  
Huntingd.  
Mat West.



*Alfred* his Father. And a few days after him dy'd *Ethelwerd* his Eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Iland in subjection, yet so as petty Kings reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had set up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under thir yoke, at the end of 6 years had expell'd, one *Ricfig* was set up King, and bore the name 3 years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter, if we beleewe Legends, of a Servant made King by command of St. *Cudbert*, in a Vision; and enjoyn'd by another Vision of the same Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and privileges to his Church and Monastery. But now to the story.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Athelstan.*

**A** *Thelstan* next in Age to *Ethelward* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few days before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great appearance of many vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne, at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, and by his Fathers last Will, saith *Malmsbury*, yet not without some opposition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not likeing he should reign, had conspir'd to seise on him after his Fathers Death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conspiratours discoverd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was sent to *Rome*, to assert his innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediatly, and carried out by his Servants, three daies after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes*, though much aw'd were not idle. *Inguald* one of thir Kings took possession of

926.

*Malmsf.*

*Sim. Dun.*

Malmf.  
Mat. West.

927.  
Sax. an.

933.  
Sim. Dun.

934.  
Sax. an.  
Sim. Dun.

*Torke*, *Sitric* who some years before had slain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheshire*; and however he defended these doings; grew so considerable, that *Athelstan* with great solemnity gave him his Sister *Edgith* to Wife: but he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere the years end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Cuthfert* the Kingdome, driv'n out the next year by *Athelstan*; not unjustly saith *Huntingdon*, as being first raisers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a *British* King, whom *Athelstan* this year drove out of his Kingdome; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only mistak'n. *Malmsbury* differs in the name also, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them also I wish as much mistak'n, who write that *Athelstan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin's* towardly virtues, least added to the right of Birth, they might some time or other call in question his illegitimate precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, some say, with one Servant in a rott'n Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the youth far off land, and in rough weather despairing, threw himself over-board; the Servant more patient, got to land and reported the success. But this *Malmsbury* confesses to be sung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: and *Huntingdon* speaks as of a sad accident to *Athelstan*, that he lost his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelstan*, as is writ'n by all, tenderly lov'd and bred up the rest of his Brethren, of whom he had no less cause to be jealous. And the year following he prosperd better then from so foul a fact, passing into *Scotland* with great Puissance, both by Sea and Land, and chacing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeeder*,

*feoder*, and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Cuthness*. The cause of this expedition, saith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thether fled, though not deny'd at length by *Constantine*, who with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, surrenderd himself and each his Kingdome to *Athelstan*, who brought back with him for hostagethe Son of *Constantine*. But *Gudfert* escaping in the mean while out of *Scotland*, and *Constantine* exasperated by this invasion, perswaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* King of *Ireland* and the *Iles*, his Son in law, with 615 Ships, and the King of *Cum-*  
*berland* with other forces, to his aid. This within four years effected, they enterd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Athelstan* at a place call'd *Wendune*, others term it *Brunanburg*, others *Bruneford*, which *Ingulf* places beyond *Humber*, *Camden* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *scotch* Borders; the bloodiest fight, say Authors, that ever this Iland saw, to describe which, the *Saxon* Annalist wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on a sudden into such extravagant fanfies and metaphors, as bare him quite beside the scope of being understood. *Huntingdon*, though himself peccant enough in his kind, transcribes him word for word as a pastime to his Readers. I shall only summe up what of him I can attain, in usuall language. The Battel was fought eagerly from morning till night; some fell of King *Edwards* old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other side great multitudes, the rest fled to thir Ships. Five Kings, and 7 of *Anlaf's* Chief Captains were slain on the place, with *Froda* &

*Florent.*

*Florent.*

*Sim. Dun.*

938.

*Sax. an.*

*Malmf.*

Norman Leader; *Constantine* escap'd home, but lost his Son in the fight, if I understand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a small remainder of his great hoast. *Malmsbury* relates this War, adding many circumstances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joining with *Constantine* and the whole power of *Scotland*, besides those which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelstan* who had retir'd on set purpose to be the surer of his Enimies, enclos'd from all succour and retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceaving the valour and resolution of *Athelstan*, and mistrusting his own Forces though numerous, resolv'd first to spie in what posture his Enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the habit of a Musitian, got access by his lute and voice to the Kings tent, there playing both the minstrel and the spie: then towards Evening dismis't, he was observ'd by one who had bin his Souldier and well-knew him, veiwing earnestly the Kings Tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The Souldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blam'd for letting go his Enemy, answerd, that he had giv'n first his military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betrai'd, the King might suspect him of like treasonous minde towards himself; which to disprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good distance off; and so don, it happ'nd that a Bishop with his retinue coming that night to the Army, pick'd his Tent in the same place, from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by night as he had design'd, to assault the Camp and especially the Kings Tent, finding there the Bishop in stead, slew him with all his followers. *Athelstan* took the

Allarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintain'd the fight till Evening; wherein *Constantine* himself was slain with five other Kings, and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with seav'n, in the rest not disagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland* from the authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: that *Athelstan* above a mile distant from the place where execution was done upon the Bishop and his supplies, allarm'd at the noise, came down by break of day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch't and wearied now with the slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part consisting most of *West Saxons*, against *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Irish*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* against *Constantine* and his *Scots*. The shower of Arrows and Dartsover-pas't, both Battells attack'd each other with a close and terrible ingagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of select valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worstershire* men, a Captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Constantine* himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the goodness of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet bin beat'n down, had not *Singin* his faithfull second at  
the

the same time slain *Constantine* ; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, wherof a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving worldly affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own cost he had repair'd, from *Danish* ruins, and left therethis memorial of his former actions. *Athelstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more ease vanquish'd *Ludwal* the King, and posselt his land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displac'd, so he restor'd both him and *Constantine* to thir Regal State; for the surrender of King *Constantine* hath bin above spok'n of. However the *Welch* did him homage at the City of *Hereford*, and covenanted yearly payment of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of *Oxen* 25 thousand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took *Exeter* from the *Cornish Britans*, who till that time had equal right there with the English, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *Brittish* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and neer, three years after he dy'd at *Gloster*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Cosin Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelstan*, both slain in the Battel against *Anlaf*. He was 30 years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in wisdom from his Childhood, comly of person and behaviour ; so that *Alfred* his Grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdome, and put him yet a Child into Souldiers habit. He had his breeding in the Court of *Elfred* his Aunt, of whose vertues more then female we have related, sufficient to evince that his mother,

941

Sax. an:  
Malmsf.  
Ingulf.

ther, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the Royal line disdain'd not, though the Song, went in *Malmsburies* daies (for it seems he refus'd not the authority of Ballats for want of better) that his mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamt one night she brought forth a Moon that should enlight'n the whole land: which the Kings Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one day to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damsel, lik'd her, and by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelstan*, a bounteous, just and affable King, as *Malmsbury* sets him forth; nor less honour'd abroad by Foren Kings, who sought his Friendship by great guifts or affinity; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* sent him a Ship, whose Prow was of gold, sails purple, and other golden things, the more to be wonderd at, sent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other from all Sea: the Embassadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *Torke*. His Sisters he gave in marriage to greatest Princes, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdlith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, sprung of *Charles* the Great, *Ethilda* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who sent *Al-dulf* Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all these great suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of *France*, came rich presents, Horses of excellent Breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of *Onyx*, and other pretious things, which I leave poetically describ'd in *Malmsbury*, tak'n, as he confesses,

esses, out of an old versifier, some of whose verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother *Edwin*, who disavow'd by Oath the treason wherof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equall hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath bin said, which add also that *Athelstan*, his anger over, soon repented of the fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who slipping one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recovering himself on the other leg, said aloud, fatally as to him it prov'd, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart, and pondring how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the adviser of that fact, took on him seav'n years penance, and as *Mat. West.* saith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this day.

### Edmund.

942.  
*Sax. an.*

**E** *Edmund* not above 18 years old succeeded his Brother *Athelstan*, in courage not inferiour. For in the second of his Reign he free'd *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Citties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leister*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it seems gave not good proof of thir fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* setting forth from *Torke*, and having wasted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leister*; but that ere the

Battails



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Battails join'd, peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulstan* the two Archbishops, with conversion of *Anlaf*; for the same year *Edmund* receav'd at the Font-stone this or another *Anlaf*, as saith *Huntingdon*, not him spok'n of before, who dy'd this year (so uncertain they are in the story of these times also) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Bishop confirm'd him: thir limits were divided North and South by *Watling-street*. But spirituall kindred litle avail'd to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cause; for we read him two years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now first call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, takinge the whole Country into subjection. *Edmund* the next year harras'd *Cumberland*, then gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mut. West.* adds that in this action *Edmund* had the aid of *Leolin* Prince of *Northwales*, against *Dummail* the *Cumbrian* King, him depriving of his Kingdome, and his two Sons of thir sight. But the year after he himself by strange accident came to an untimely Death, feasting with his Nobles on *St. Austins* Day at *Puclekerke* in *Glostershire*, to celebrat the memory of his first converting the *Saxons*. He spi'd *Leofa* a noted Theef, whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guests; wherat transported with too much vehemence of Spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the Table he ran upon the Theef, and catching his hair, pull'd him to the ground. The Theef who doubted from such handling no less then his Death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a short Dagger strook the King, who still laid at

944.  
Sax. an.

945.  
Sax. an.

946.  
Sax. an.  
Camden.

him, and little expected such assassination, mortally into the brest. The matter was done in a moment, ere men set at Table could turn them, or imagin at first what the stir meant, till perceaving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beast at abbay, seeing himself surrounded, desperatly laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The King was buried at *Glafston*, wherof *Dunstan* was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings.

### Edred.

**E**Dred the third Brother of *Athelstan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Childern, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy predecessors, and Crown'd at *Kingston*. *Northumberland* he throughly subdu'd, the *Scots* without refusal swore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtfull Faith, soon after chose to themselves one *Eric* a *Dane*. *Huntingdon* still haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and reign fowr years, then again put to his shifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with spoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his rear. *Edred* turning about, both shook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second inroad: which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, slew *Amancus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many presents appeasing *Edred*, submitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom

950.

Sim. Dun.

Hoved.

whom *Osulf* was the first. About this time *Wulfstan* Archbishop of *York*, accus'd to have slain certain men of *Thetford* in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townsmen had slain, was committed by the King to close Custody; but soon after enlarg'd, was restor'd to his place. *Malmsbury* writes that his crime was to have conniv'd at the revolt of his Countrymen: but King *Edred* two years after sick'ning in the flowr of his youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Winchester*.

*Edwi.*

**E***dwi* the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age, after his Uncle *Edred's* Death took on him the Government, and was Crown'd at *Kingston*. His lovely person surnam'd him the Fair, his actions are diversly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable, But *Malmsbury* and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married or kept as Concubine, his neer Kinswoman, some say both her and her Daughter; so inordinatly giv'n to his pleasure, that on the very day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Consultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiva*, so was her name, who had such power over him. Wherat his Barons offended, sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest among them, to request his return: he going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but takeing him by the hand, between force and persuation brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly displeas'd, and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after

sent *Dunstan* into banishment, caus'd his Monastery to be rifl'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Wherupon *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury* pronounc't a separation or divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which most incited *William* of *Malmsbury* against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt in by secular Preists, or, to use his own phrase, made it a stable of Clerks; at length these affronts done to the Church were so resented by the people, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *West-Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with greif wherof, as is thought, he soon after ended his daies, and was buried at *Winchester*. Mean while *Elfrin* Bishop of that place after the Death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the same year for his Pall, was froz'n to Death in the *Alps*.

Hoved.

957.

Sax. an.

958.

Mat. West.

## Edgar.

959.  
Malms.

Mat. West.

**E** *Dgar* by his Brothers Death now King of all *England* at 16 years of Age, call'd home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in exile. This King had no War all his Reign; yet allways well prepar'd for War, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Prosperity, gaining thence the Sirname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries; as some write, every year one: for he much favour'd the Monks against secular Preists, who in the time of *Edwi* had got possession in most of

of thir Covents. His care and wildome was great in guarding the Coast round with stout ships, to the number of 3600, *Mat. West.* reck'ns them 4800, divided into fowr Squadrons, to sail to and fro on the fowr quarters of the land, meeting each other; the first of 1200 sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fowrth between North and South, himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of Strangers, and prevented Foreign War; but by thir too frequent resort hither in time of peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir vices unaware. Thence the people, saith *Malmsbury*, learnt of the out-landish *Saxons* rudeness, of the *Flemish* daintiness and softness; of the *Danes* Drunk'ness; though I doubt these vices are as naturally home-bred heer as in any of those Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see justice well-administerd, and the poor not oppress'd. Theeves and Robbers he rooted almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of prey altogether; enjoining *Ludwal* King of *Wales* to pay the yearly tribute of 300 Wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cause he was not Crown'd till the 30. of his Age, but then with great splendor and magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feast of *Pentecost*. This year dy'd *Smarling* a Monk of *Croyland*, the 142. year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th. in the Fenny and watrish air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next year went to *Chester*, and summoning to

973.

*Sax. an.*

*Ingulf.*

974.

*Sax. an.*

his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took homage of them: thir names are *Kened King of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Macense of the Isles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Huwal, Grifith, Jacob, Jude-thil*, these he had in such aw, that going one day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himself sat at the Stern: which might be done in meriment and easily obei'd; if with a serious brow, discoverd rather vain glory and insulting haughtiness, then moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously tryumphing, appears by his words then uttered, that his successors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had such honour done them. And perhaps the Divine power was displeas'd with him for taking too much honour to himself; since we read that the year following he was tak'n out of this life by sickness in the highth of his glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glafston Abby*. The same year, as *Mat. West.* relates, he gave to *Kened the Scottish King*, many rich presents, and the whole Country of *Landian*, or *Lothien*, to hold of him on condition that he and his successors should repair to the English Court at high Festivals when the King sat Crown'd, gave him also many lodging places by the way, which till the days of *Henry the second* were still held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and dislik'd nothing more then that they should spare him for respect or fear to hurt him. *Kened King of Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, sitting one day at Table was heard to say jestingly among his Servants, he wonderd

wonderd how so many Provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man: his words were brought to the Kings Ear; he sends for *Kened* as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now saith he, it shall be try'd which ought to be the subject; for it is shamefull for a King to boast at Table, and shrink in fight. *Kened* much abash'd fell presently at his Feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spok'n, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement: wherewith the King was satisfi'd. *Camden* in his description of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears, he had in subjection all the Kingdomes of the Isles as far as *Norway*, and had subdu'd the greatest part of *Ireland* with the City of *Dublin*: but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire*, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl *Athelmold*, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answerd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view tak'n with her presence, disloyally, as it oft happ'ns in such employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the Kings mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Athelmold* had forestall'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more spok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapse of Love, but with a deep sence of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told

told the Earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform her self, what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the King, whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had stepd between her and the King, against his coming arraies her self richly, using whatever art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her love the more for that he had bin so long defrauded and rob'd of her, resolv'd not only to recover his intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destin'd spouse, and appointing with him as was usual, a day of hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd *Harewood*, smote him through with a Dart. Some censure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but considerd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of sensible Spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to life what worse treason could have bin committed against him? it chanc'd that the Earls base Son coming by upon the fact, the King sternly ask'd him how he lik'd this Game; he submissly answering, that whatsoever pleas'd the King, must not displease him; the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husbands Death, though therein she had no hand, coverd the place of his bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Ano-



ther fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her friends to avoid his pursuit, and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not obstinately in the offence; for sharply reprov'd by *Dunstan* he submitted to 7 years penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritt'n. Another story there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel than a History; but as I find it in *Malmesbury*, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstain'd not from Women, and coming on a day to *Andover*, caus'd a Dukes Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter should be so deflower'd, at fit time of night sent in her attire, one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it seems not unhandsome nor unwitty; who suppli'd the place of her young Lady. Night pass'd, the Maid going to rise, but day-light scarce yet appearing, was by the King askt why she made such hast, she answer'd, to do the work which her Lady had set her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado staying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the Dukes Daughter, she falling at his Feet besought him, that since at the command of her Lady she came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to set her free from the hard service of her Mistress. The King a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a jest, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. These only are his faults upon record, rather

ther to be wonderd how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at 16 to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his vertues were so many and so mature, he dying before the Age wherein wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness: however with him dy'd all the *saxon* glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conquest, and the causes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praises of thir former actions and liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more then long enough for another Book.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*

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THE



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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The Sixth Book.

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*Edward the Younger.*

**E**dward the eldest Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfeda* his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to right and his Fathers Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his second Wife, and her faction only repineing, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred* a Child of 7 years, preferr'd before him; that she under that pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were seen in Heav'n, portending

Florent.

Sim. Dun.

tending not Famine only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to ensue. The troubles begun in *Edwi's* daies, between Monks and secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with gifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in thir stead put secular Priests with thir Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *East-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnot* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *East-Angles* from such intruders. To appease these tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Winchester*, and nothing there concluded, a general Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Caln* in *Wiltshire*, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against *Dunstan*, the room wherein they sat fell upon thir heads, killing some, maiming others, *Dunstan* only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This accident quieted the controversie, and brought both parts to hold with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his Step-mother and her Son *Ethelred*: to whom she displeas'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. *Edward* on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his mother lodg'd at *Corvesgate* (*Corse Castle*, saith *Camden*, in the Ile of *Purbeck*) innocently went thither.

ther. She with all shew of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a poignard. The poor youth who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his blood, and buried without honour at *Werham*, having reign'd about 3 years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After 978. *Malmf.* which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* saith, had a hand in his Death) he was Royally enterr'd at *skepton* or *Shaftsbury*. The mureless *Elfrida* at length repenting spent the residue of her daies in sorrow and great penance.

*Ethelred.*

**E***thelred* second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida* (for *Ed-* 979. *Malmf.*  
*mund* dy'd a Child) his Brother *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to succeed, and accordingly Crown'd at *Kingston*: reported by some, fair of visage, comly of person, elegant of behaviour; but the event will shew that with many slug- *Florent.*  
gish and ignoble vices he quickly sham'd his outside; *Sim. Dun.*  
born and prolong'd a fatal mischeif of the people, and the ruin of his Country; whereof he gave early signes from his first infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him. Whereat *Dunstan* much troubl'd, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, By God

and Gods Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in his Childhood; which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edwards* cruel Death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax Candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. *Dunstan* though unwilling set the Crown upon his head; but at the same time foretold op'nly, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in avengment of his Brothers innocent blood. And about the same time, one midnight, a Cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all *England*; and within three years the *Danish* Tempest, which had long surceast, revolv'd again upon this Iland. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Danish* History, at least thir latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from the first landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *West-Saxon Brithric*, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more then anough to make out the bare names and successions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir small actions at home: unless out of him I should transcribe what hee takes, and I better may, from our own Annals; the surer, and the sadder witnessses of thir doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly Barbarous. For the *Danes* well understanding, that *England* had now a slothfull King to thir wish, first landing at *Southampton* from 7 great Ships, took the Town, spoil'd the Country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* uninfested on the shore; Pirats of *Normay* also harried the Coast of *West-Chester*: and to add a worse calamity, the City

Sim. Dun.

982.  
Malmsf.Eadmer.  
Florent.

Hoved.

## Book 6: *The History of England.*

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of *London* was burnt, casually or not, is not writt'n. *Sim. Dun.*  
 It chanc'd fowr years after, that *Ethelred* beseig'd *Hoved.*  
*Rochester*, some way or other offended by the Bishop 986.  
 therof. *Dunstan* not approving the cause, sent to *Malmf.*  
 warn him that he provoke not *St. Andrew* the Patron *Ingulf.*  
 of that City, nor waist his Lands; an old craft of the  
 Clergy to secure thir Church Lands, by entailing  
 them on some Saint; the King not hark'ning, *Dun-*  
*stan* on this condition that the seige might be rais'd,  
 sent him a hunderd pound, the money was accepted  
 and the seige dissolv'd. *Dunstan* reprehending his  
 avarice, sent him again this word, because thou hast  
 respected money more then Religion, the evils which  
 I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not  
 in my days, for so God hath spok'n. The next year 987.  
 was calamitous, bringing strange fluxes upon men, *Malmf.*  
 and murren upon Cattel. *Dunstan* the year follow- 988.  
 ing dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zealous without dread *Malmf.*  
 of person, and for ought appeers, the best of many  
 Ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular  
 affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King *Athelstan*,  
 and *Edmund* who succeeded, much imploid in  
 Court affairs, till envi'd by some who laid many  
 things to his charge, he was by *Edmund* forbidd'n  
 the Court, but by the earnest mediation, saith *Ingulf*,  
 of *Turkitul* the Chancellour, receav'd at length to-  
 favour, and made Abbot of *Glaston*, lastly by *Edgar*  
 and the generall Vote, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.  
 Not long after his Death, the *Danes* arriving in *De-*  
*vonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that  
 Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put  
 back the *Danes*, but with loss of thir own lives. The  
 third year following, under the conduct of *Justin* 991.  
 and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steytan*, they landed and *Sim. Dun.*  
 spoil'd

Spoil'd *Ipswich*, fought with *Britnoth* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Mildon*, where they slew him; the slaughter else had bin equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the English not able to resist, by counsel of *Siric* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with thir Iron; and Ten Thousand pound was paid to the *Danes* for peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. The next year but one they took by storm and rifl'd *Bebbanburg* an antient City nigh *Durham*: sailing thence into the mouth of *Humber*, they wasted both sides therof, *Torkeshire* and *Lindsey*, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Frena*, *Frithegist*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Fathers side, willingly began flight, and forsook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, whom the King for some offence had banish'd but now recall'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprise the *Danes*, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over night intelligence therof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, saith *Florent*, perceaving, persu'd, took the Ship, but miss'd of his person; the *Londoners* by chance grappling with the *East-Angles* made them fewer, saith my Authour, by many thousands. Others say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only escap'd, but with a greater Fleet set upon the English, took many of thir Ships, and in tryumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to beseige *London*: for *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and

993.

Sim. Dun.

Florent.

Huntingd.

994.

Sim. Dun.



*Swane of Denmarke*, at the head of these, came with 94 Gallies. The King for this treason of *Alfric*, put out his Sons Eyes ; but the *Londoners* both by land and water, so valiantly resisted thir beseigers, that they were forc't in one day with great loss to give over. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, wasting with Sword and fire all *Effex*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*. Thence horning thir Foot, diffus'd far wider thir outrageous incursions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothfull King instead *Malmf.* of Warlike opposition in the Field, sends Embassadors to treat about another payment ; the sum promis'd was now 16 thousand pound ; till which paid, the *Danes* winterd at *Southampton* ; *Ethelred* inviting *Anlaf* to come and visit him at *Andover* : where *Malmf.* he was royally entertain'd, some say baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and dismiss't with great presents, promising by Oath to depart and molest the Kingdome no more ; which he perform'd, *Huntingd.* but the calamity ended not so, for after some intermission of thir rage for three years, the other Navy of *Danes* sailing about to the West, enterd *Severn*, and wasted one while *South Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, till at length they winterd about *Tavistock*. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behinde them, easie to be imagin'd. In summ, the next year they afflicted *Dorsetshire*, *Hamshire*, and the Ile of *Wight* ; by the *English* many resolutions were tak'n, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the falshood, or discourag'd by the weakness of thir Leaders, they

997.

*Sim. Dun.*998.  
*Sim. Dun.*

were

999.  
Sim. Dun.

were put to rout, or disbanded themselves. For Souldiers most commonly are as thir Commanders, without much odds of valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplin'd and conducted. The following year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enterd *Medway*, and be-seig'd *Rocheſter*; but the *Kentiſh* men aſſembling, gave them a ſharp encounter, yet that ſuffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Againſt theſe depopulations, the King levied an Army; but the unſkillfull Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burd'ning and impoveriſhing the people, conſuming the publick treaſure, and more imboldning the Enemy, then if they had ſat quiet at home. What cauſe mov'd the *Danes* next year

1000.  
Sim. Dun.

to paſs into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outrageous then before. Mean while the King, to make ſome diverſion, undertak's an expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were moſt planted; there and in the Ile of *Man*, or as *Camden* ſaith, *Angleſey*, imitating his Enemies in ſpoiling and un-peopleing; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in the River *Ex*, laid ſiege to *Exeter*; but the Citti-

1001.  
Sim. Dun.

zens, as thoſe of *London*, valorouſly defending themſelves, they wreck'd thir anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Country people of *ſomerſet* and *Devonſhire* aſſembling themſelves at *Penho*, ſhew'd thir readineſs, but wanted a head; and beſides, being then but few in number, were eaſily put to flight; the Enemy plundering all at will, with loaded ſpoils paſs'd into the Ile of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, felt again

thir

thir fury. The *Saxon* Annals write, that before thir coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamshire* men had a bickering with them, wherin *Ethelward* the Kings General was slain, adding other things hardly to be understood, and in one antient Copy ; so end. *Ethelred*, whom no adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his Peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely and propose a third tribute to the *Danes*: they willingly hark'n, but the summ is enhaunc't now to 24 thousand pound, and paid ; the *Danes* therupon abstaining from hostility. But the King to strengthen his House by some potent affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good correspondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15th. who made peace between them about eleaven years before; putt up now with his suppos'd access of strength by this affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one day perfidiously to be massac'hred, both Men, Women, and Childern ; sending privat Letters to every Town and Citty, wherby they might be ready all at the same hower ; which till the appointed time (being the 5th of *July*) was conceal'd with great silence, and perform'd with much unanimity; so generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. West.* writes, that this execution upon the *Danes* was ten years after ; that *Huna* one of *Ethelreds* Chief Captains, complaining of the *Danish* insolencies in time of peace, thir pride, thir ravishing of Matrons and Virgins, incited the King to this massac'hre, which in the madness of rage made no

1002.

*Sim. Dux.**Mulmsf.**Calvisf.**Florent.**Huntingd.**Calvisius.*

Mat. West.

1003.

Sim. Dun.

1004.

Sim. Dun.

difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, *Gunhildis* the Sister of *Swane* was not spar'd, though much deserving not pitty only, but all protection: she with her Husband Earl *Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receaving Christianity, had her Husband and young Son slain before her face, her self then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost *England* dear. Some say this was done by the Traitor *Edric*, to whose custody she was committed; but the massacher was some years before *Edric's* advancement; and if it were done by him-afterward, it seems to contradict the privat correspondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing revenge, hasted the next year into *England*, and by the treason or negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonshire*, sack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from East to West-gate brok'n down: after this wasting *Wiltshire*, the people of that County, and of *Hampshire*, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him, but *Alfric* thir General, whose Sons Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he should have orderd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, fain'd himself tak'n with a vomiting; wherby his Army in great discontent, destitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy; who streight took *Wilton* and *Salsbury*, carrying the pillage therof to his Ships. Thence the next year landing on the Coast of *Norfolk*, he wasted the Country, and set *Norwich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his Forces, after consultation

consultation had, thought it best to make peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three weeks, issu'd silently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, staid there a night, and in the Morning left it flameing. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded some to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not dareing or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secrecie and speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a feirce onset retreating to thir Ships; but much inferiour in number, many of the Cheif *East-Angles*, there lost thir lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great slaughter of thir own; confessing that they never met in *England* with so rough a charge. The next year, whom War could not, a great Famin drove *swane* out of the Land. But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enterd the Port of *sandwich*, thence powrd out over all *Kent* and *Suffex*, made prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *West-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; But they who held it safer to live by rapine, then to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy Camp, following thir wonted course of robbery, then running to thir Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the Kings Army, which gone home to winter, they carried all thir pillage to the Ile of *Wight*, and there staid till *Christmas*; at which time the King being in *shropshire*, and but ill imploi'd (for by the procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alshelm* a noble Duke, treacherously to be slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came

1005.

*Sim. Dun.*

1006.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Florent.*

1007.  
Sim. Dun.

forth again, over-running *Hamshire*, and *Barkeeshire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: thence to *Ashdune*, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronuntiation; and returning by another way, found many of the people in *Armes* by the River *Kenet*; but making thir way through, they got safe with vast booty to thir Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with thir last Summers jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpose, which by proof they found too toilsome for thir soft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourse to thir last and only remedy, thir Cofers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonorable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under 36 thousand pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk such easie Kine) in name of Tribute and expences: which out of the people over all *England*, already half beggerd, was extorted and paid. About the same time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, surnam'd *streon*, from obscure condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the Kings Daughter. The cause of his advancement, *Florent* of *Worster*, and *Mat. West.* attribute to his great wealth, gott'n by fine polices and a plausible tongue: he prov'd a main accessory to the ruin of *England*, as his actions will soon declare. *Ethelred* the next year somewhat rowling himself, ordain'd that every 310 Hides (a Hide is so much land as one Plow can sufficiently till) should set out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corset and Head-peice: new Ships in every Port were builded, vittl'd, fraught with stout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at *sandwich*. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, diffention

1028.  
Sim. Dun.

dissention among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. *Bithric* the Brother of *Edric*, falsely accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer set over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the potency of his Enemies, with 20 Ships got to Sea, and practis'd piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surpris'd, *Bithric* sets forth with 80 Ships; all which driv'n back by a Tempest and wrackt upon the shoar, were burnt soon after by *Wulnoth*. Disheart'nd with this misfortune, the King returns to *London*; the rest of his Navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Wherupon *Turkill*, a *Danish* Earl, came with a Navy to the Ile of *Tanet*, and in *August* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* joyn'd with him. Thence coasting to *Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to assault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and East Kentish men, coming to composition with them for three thousand pound, they departed thence to the Ile of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the land, and in several quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskillfully or unsuccessfully, that the *Danes* were not thereby hinderd from exercising thir wonted Robberies. It happ'nd that the *Danes* one day were gone up into the Country, far from thir Ships, the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in thir return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantagious; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with suttile arguments that had a shew of deep policy, disputed and perswaded the simplicity of his

1009.  
*Sim. Dun.*

IOIC.  
Sim. Dun.  
Florent.

his Fellow Counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the *Danes* pass without ambush or interception. The *Danes* where they expected danger, finding none, pass'd on with great joy and booty to thir Ships. After this, sailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Essex* to contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls't as oft to thir great loss. Spring begun, leaving thir Ships, they pass'd through *Chiltern Wood* into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided forces wasted on both sides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army from *London* was marcht out against them, they on the North-side, passing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with them on the South into one body, and enrich't with great spoils, came back through *Surrey* to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Easter*, sailing to the *East-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipswich*, and came to a place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketell* with his Forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertain'd them; but his men at length giving back, through the suttlety of a *Danish* Servant among them who began the flight, lost the field; though the men of *Cambridgeshire* stood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelstan* the Kings Son in Law, with many other Noblemen, was slain; wherby the *Danes* without more resistance, three months together had the spoiling of those Countries and all the Fenns, burnt *Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a hilly place not far off, call'd by *Huntingdon Balesham*, by *Camden Gogmagog Hills*, and the Villages therabout they turn'd thir fury, slaying all they met save one man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended



fended himself against the whole *Danish* Army. They therefore so leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horse by land through *Essex*, return'd back lad'n to thir Ships left in the *Thames*. But many daies pass'd not between, when salying again out of thir Ships as out of Savage Denns, they plunderd over again all *Oxfordshire*, and added to thir prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordshire*; then like *Humind.* wild Beasts glutted, returning to thir Caves. A third excursion they made into *Northamptonshire*, burnt *Northampton*, ransacking the Country round; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the *West-Saxons*, and in like sort harraising all *Wiltshire*, return'd, as I said before, like wild Beasts or rather Sea-Monsters to thir Water-stables, accomplishing by *Christmas* the Circuit of thir whole years good Deeds; an unjust and inhuman Nation, who receiving or not receiving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their lively-hood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next year repeating the same cruelties on both sides the *Thames*, *IOII.* one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, *Sim. Dun.* solicited again by the King for peace, and receiving thir demands both of tribute and contribution, they slighted thir faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid seige to *Canterbury*. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of *Almere* the Archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacher as a sport; some they threw over the Wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members, infants pull'd from thir mothers breasts, were either tost on spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the

Eadmer.

Malmsf.

Eadmer.

1012.

Sim. Dun.

Eadmer.

the hair dragd and ravish't. *Alfage* the grave Archbishop, above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Counsells and actions to his might thir known opposer, tak'n, wounded, imprison'd in a noisom Ship; the multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only spar'd. Early the next year before *Easter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were assembl'd at *London*, to raise now the fifth Tribute amounting to 48 thousand pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propose to the Archbishop, who had bin now seav'n months thir Prisoner, life and liberty, if he pay them three thousand pound; which he refusing as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his Tennants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to consider; then hal'd before thir Counsel, of whom *Turkill* was Cheif, and still refusing, they rise most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of thir Axes, then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with stones; till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pittying him half dead, to put him out of pain; with a pious impiety, at one stroak of his Ax on the head dispatch'd him. His body was carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterward remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the tribute paid, and peace so oft'n violated sworn again by the *Danes*, they dispers'd thir Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* thir Cheif staid at *London* with the King, swore him Allegiance to defend his Land against all strangers, on condition only to be fed and cloth'd by him. But this voluntary friendship of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitfull, that staying under this pretence he gave intelligence to *Swane*, when most it would be seasonable to come. In *July* therefore of the next year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*, made no stay there, but sailing first

1013.

Sim. Dun.

first to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landed and encamp'd at *Gainsburrow*: whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Uthred* thir Earl; those of *Lindsey* also, then those of *Fisburg*, and lastly all on the North of *Watling-street* (which is a high way from East to West Sea) gave Oath and Hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horses and provision for his Army, taking with him besides Bands and Companies of thir choicest men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the care of his Fleet and hostages; he marchestowards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Souldiers to exercise all Acts of hostility; with the terror wherof fully executed, he took in few daies the City of *Oxford*, then *Winchester*; thence tending to *London*, in his hasty passage over the *Thames*, without seeking Bridge or Ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his expedition against *London* prosperous; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherein the King then was, & *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was stoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his course, after usual havock made, he sate a while and refresh'd his Army. There *Ethelm* an Earl of *Devonshire*, and other great Officers in the West yeilded him subjection. These things flowing to his wish, he betook him to his Navy, from that time stil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, saith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* also sent him hostages and made thir peace, for they fear'd his fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc't to narrow compass, sent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his treasure to *Richard* the 2d. her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himself with his *Danish* Fleet abode

Malmf.

1014.

Sim. Dun.

Mat. West.

some while at *Greenwich*, then sailing to the Ile of *Wight*, pass'd after *Christmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receav'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards *Emma* his Sister, besides his dissolute Company with other women. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the people, spoiling them when he list'd; besides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next year beginning, *Swane* sickens and dyes; some say terrifi'd and smitt'n by an appearing shape of *St. Edmund* arm'd, whose Church at *Bury* he had threat'nd to demolish; but the authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of *St. Edmund*. After his Death the *Danish* Army and Fleet made his Son *Canute* thir King; but the Nobility and States of *England* sent Messengers to *Ethelred*, declareing that they preferr'd none before thir Native Sovran, if he would promise to govern them better then he had done, and with more Clemency. Wherat the King rejoicing, sends over his Son *Edward* with Embassadors to court both high and low, and win thir love, promising largely to be thir mild and devoted Lord, to consent in all things to thir will, follow thir counsel, and whatever had been done or spok'n by any man against him, freely to pardon; if they would loyally restore him to be thir King. To this the people cheerfully answer'd, and amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both sides. An Embassy of Lords is sent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent* and is joyfully receav'd of the people, marches with a strong Army against *Canute*; who having got Horses and joyn'd with the men of *Lindsey*, was preparing to make spoil in the Countries

Book 6. T  
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*Emma* mention

tries adjoining; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driv'n to his Ships, and his Confederats of *Lindsey* left to the anger of thir Country-men, executed without mercy both by fire and Sword. *Canute* in all hast sailing back to *sandwich*, took the hostages giv'n to his Father from all parts of *England*, and with slit Noses, Ears cropt, and hands chop't off, setting them ashore, departed into *Denmarke*. Yet the people were not disburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them 30 thousand pound to pay his Fleet of *Danes* at *Greenwich*. To these evils the Sea in *October* pass'd his bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of thir inhabitants many thousands. The year following an Assembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth*, and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Seav'nburg* to his Lodging, secretly murderd them: the King, for what cause is unknown, seis'd thir Estates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth* to be kept at *Maidulfsburg*, now *Malmsbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married against his Fathers minde, then went and possesd thir lands, making the people there subject to him. *Mat. West.* saith, that these two were of the *Danes* who had seated themselves in *Northumberland*, slain by *Edric* under colour of Treason laid to thir charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the Death of thir Maisters, were beat'n back; and driv'n into a Church, and defending themselves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmarke* with a great Navy, 200 Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms and all provision; and, which *Encomium* *Emma* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman*

1015.  
*Sim. Dun.*

*Malmf.*

*Leges Ed.*  
*Conf. Tit.*  
*deduct. Nor-*  
*of man.*

of *Sweden*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; And, as the same Authour then living writes, sent out spies to discover what resistance on land was to be expected; who return'd with certain report, that a great Army of English was in readiness to oppose them. *Turkill*, who upon the arrival of these *Danish* Powers, kept faith no longer with the English, but joining now with *Canute*, as it were to re-ingratiating himself after his revolt, whether real or

*Encom. Em.* plotted, counsell'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the management of this first Battel; the King assented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of those which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to their wish, encounter'd the English, though double in number, at a place call'd *Scoraftan*, and was at first beaten back with much loss. But at length animating his men with rage only and despair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great reward and possessions from *Canute*. But of this action no other writer makes mention: from *Sandwich* therefore sailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing, over all *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Wiltshire*, spread wastfull hostility. The King lay then sick at *Cosham* in this County; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themselves; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice against the life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great advantage. *Edric* easily enticing the 40 Ships of *Danes* to side with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *West-Saxons* also gave pledges and furnished him

*Camd.* with

with *Horfes*. By which means the year enfueing, he with *Edric* the Traytor, paffing the *Thames* at *Crecled*, about twelftide, enterd into *Mercia*, and eſpecially *Warwickſhire*, depopulating all places in thir way. Againſt theſe, Prince *Edmund*, for his hardineſs call'd *Ironſide*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unleſs *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and ſo every man return'd home. After the Feſtival, *Edmund* gathering another Army beſought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what force beſides he was able; they came with great ſtrength gott'n together, but being come, and in a hopefull way of good ſucceſs, it was told the King, that unleſs he took the better heed, ſome of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning whiſper of the Enemy, diſbanding his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as ſome thought to raiſe freſh Forces; but he with Earl *Uthred*, on the one ſide, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little elſe but waſt the Provinces; *Canute* to Conquer them, *Edmund* to puniſh them, who ſtood neuter; for which cauſe *Stafford*, *Shropſhire*, and *Leſterſhire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruining the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing diſmiſs'd his Forces and came to *London*. *Uthred* the Earl haſted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other remedy, ſubmitted himſelf with all the *Northumbrians*, giving hoſtages to *Canute*. Nevertheleſs by his command or connivence, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a *Daniſh* Lord; *Uthred* was ſlain, and *Iric* another *Dane* made Earl in his ſtead. This

1016.  
Sim. Dun.

*Uthred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his treatise of the Seige of *Durham*, in his youth obtain'd a great Victory against *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole power of his Kingdome was fall'n into *Northumberland*, and laid seige to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to resist, had secur'd himself in *Bebbanburg*, a strong Town, but *Uthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Seige, slew most of the *Scots*, thir King narrowly escaping, and with the heads of thir slain fixt upon Poles beset round the Walls of *Durham*. The year of this exploit *Simeon* cleers not, for in 969. and in the Reign of *Ethelred* as he affirms, it could not bee. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyfull of his success, before *Easter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the end of *April* ensueing, *Ethelred* after a long, troublesome and ill govern'd Reign, ended his daies at *London*, and was buried in the Church of *St. Paul*.

### Edmund Ironside.

*Florent.*

*Aelred* in  
the life of  
*Ed. Conf.*

**A**fter the decease of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London* together with the Citizens, chose *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Fathers room; but the Archbishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles assembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the race of *Ethelred*, and swore him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both religious and secular, to be thir faithfull Lord. But *Edmund* with all speed going to the *West-Saxons*, was joyfully receav'd of them as thir

*Florent.*

*Sim. Dun.*

King,



King, and of many other Provinces by their example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May* came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then causing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* side, turn'd the stream and drew his Ships thether West of the Bridge; then begirting the City with a broad and deep trench, assail'd it on every side; but repulst as before by the valorous Defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the *West-Saxons*, ere *Edmund* could have time to assemble all his powers: who yet with such as were at hand invoking divine aid, encountered the *Danes* at *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, and put him to flight. After mid-summer, encreast with new Forces, he met with him again at a place call'd *Sherastan*, now *Sharstan*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* men, then siding with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Day light returning renew'd the conflict; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to disheart'n the English cuts off the Head of one *Osmer*, in countenance and hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that *Edmund* being slain and this his head, it was time for them to flee; which salacy *Edmund* perceaving, and op'nly shewing himself to his Souldiers, by a spear thrown at *Edric*, that missing him yet slew one next him, and through him another behinde, they recoverd heart, and lay sore upon the *Danes* till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, *Canute* sensible of his loss, march'd away by stealth to his Ships at *London*, re-

Malmf.

ning there his leagre. Some would have this Battell at *Sherastan* the same with that at *Scoraстан* before mention'd, but the circumstance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the Process of things appears: from *Sherastan* or *Sharstan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *West-Saxons*, whose valour *Edric* fearing, least it might prevail against the *Danes*, sought pardon of his revolt, and obtaining it swore loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *West-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Seige, chafeing *Canute* and his *Danes* to thir Ships. Then after two daies passing the *Thames* at *Bransford*, and so coming on thir backs, kept them so turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his *West Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Seige, but still in vain; riseing therfore thence, he enterd with his Ships a River then call'd *Arenne*; and from the Banks therof wasted *Mercia*; thence thir Horse by land, thir Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while with multipli'd Forces out of many Shires, crossing again at *Bransford*, came into *Kent*, seeking *Canute*; encounterd him at *Oxford*, and so defeated, that of his Horse, they who escap'd fled to the Ile of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* still the Traytor by some wile or other detain'd his persuit: and *Edmund* who never wanted courage, heer wanted prudence to be so misled, ever after forsak'n of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* crossing with his Army into *Essex*, thence wasted *Mercia* worse then before, and with heavy prey return'd to his Ships: them *Edmund* with a collected Army persueing, overtook at a place call'd *Assandune*, or *Asseshill*, now *Ashdown* in *Essex*; the Battel

on either side was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceiving the Victory to incline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match't with numbers: by which desertion the English were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *East-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the English of a long time had not receav'd a greater blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not absurdly call'd *Ironside*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another feild, was hinderd by *Edric* and others of his faction, adviseing him to make peace and divide the Kingdome with *Canute*. To *Camd.* which *Edmund* over-rul'd, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually giv'n, both Kings met together at a place call'd *Deorhirst* in *Glostershire*; *Edmund* on the West side of *Severn*, *Canute* on the East with thir Armies, then both in person waisted into an Iland, at that time call'd *Olaneg*, now *Alney* in the midst of *Camd.* the River; swearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the Kingdome between them. Then interchanging Armes and the habit they wore, assessing also what pay should be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this interveiw and the cause therof, others write otherwise; *Malmf-bury*, that *Edmund* greiving at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to *Canute*, offering him single Combate, to prevent in thir own cause the effusion of more blood then thir own; that *Canute* though of courage anough, yet not unwisely doubting to adventure his body of small Timber, against a man of Ironsides, refus'd

the Combate, offering to divide the Kingdome; this offer pleasing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his hereditary Kingdome should rule the *West-Saxons*, and all the *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North-Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. West.* relates, that the Peers on every side wearied out with continual warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'nly, that they two who expected to reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the Kings were content; the Iland was thir lists, the Combate Knightly; till *Knute* finding himself too weak, began to parle, which ended as is said before. After which the *Londoners* bought thir peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the Feast of *St. Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried neer to *Edgar* his Grandfather at *Glaston*. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common fame, saith *Malmsbury*, laies the guilt therof upon *Edric*, who to please *Canute*, allur'd with promise of reward two of the Kings Privy Chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. West.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to reign sole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Bishops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesss what agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdome, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *West-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? they who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo

undergo his anger, timorously answerd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* should be thir Guardian, till they came to age of reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for fear or hope of reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

### *Canute, or Knute.*

**C***Anute* having thus sounded the Nobility, and by them understood, receav'd thir Oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and Oath from the *Danish* Nobles; wherupon the House of *Edmund* was renounc't, and *Canute* Crown'd. Then they enacted, that *Edwi* Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great hope, should be banish't the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himself secure while *Edwi* liv'd, consulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likeliest to do the work. *Ethelward* sent for, and tempted by the King in privat, with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promis'd to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards receav'd into favour as a snare, was by him or some other of his false freinds, *Canute* contriving it, the same year slain. *Edric* also counsel'd him to dispatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of *Ironside*; but the King doubting that the fact would seem too foul done in *England*, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he disdaining the Office, sent them for better safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at

1017.  
*Sim. Dun.*  
*Sax. an.*

length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the German Emperour. A digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* saith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Malescot* King of the *Rugians*, who receav'd him honourably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. *Canute* settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into fowr parts; the *West-Saxons* to himself, the *East-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made peace with all Princes round about him, and his former Wife being dead, in July married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Christmas* following was an ill Feast to *Edric*, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of *Edric* fixt on a pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of *London*, as in a double sence he had promis'd him, for the murder of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmsbury*, and *Mat. West.* write, that suspecting the Kings intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedome, and upbraiding him with his merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the Kings command struck off his head. Other great men though without fault, as Duke *Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, he put to death at the same time, jealous of thir power or familiarity with *Edric*: and notwithstanding peace, kept

Encom. Em.  
Ingulf.

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kept still his Army; to maintain which, the next year he squee's'd out of the English, though now his subjects, not his Enemies, 72, some say, 82 thousand pound, besides 15 thousand out of *London*. Mean while great War arose at *Carr*, between *Uthred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But heer *Simeon* the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain *Uthred* by *Canute* two years before; and set *Eric* in his place: *Eric* therefore it must needs be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this War against the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. West.* saith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next year *Canute* sail'd into *Denmarke*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. West.* say, he went thether to repress the *Swedes*, and that the night before a Battel to be fought with them, *Godwin* stealing out of the Camp with his English, assaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the Victory ere *Canute* in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprize, though against Discipline, he had the English in more esteem ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of *Easter* a great assembly at *Chirchester*, and the same year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the dedication of a Church by them built at *Affendare*, in the place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But suspecting his greatness, the year following banish'd him the Realm, and found occasion to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the same jealousy. Nor yet content with his Conquest of *England*, though now above ten years enjoy'd, he pass'd with

1018.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Huntingd.*

*Mat. West.*

1019.

*Sim. Dun.*

1020.

*Sim. Dun.*

1021.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Malmf.*

1028.

*Sim. Dun.*

50

- 50 Ships into *Normay*, disposseis'd *Olave* thir King, and subdu'd the land, first with great summes of money sent the year before to gain him a party, then coming with an Army to compell the rest. Thence returning King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Normay*, yet not secure in his mind, under colour of an Embassey he sent into banishment *Hacun* a powerfull Dane who had married the Daughter of his Sister *Gnmildis*, having conceav'd some suspicion of his practices against him: but such course was tak'n, that he never came back; either perishing at Sea, or slain by contrivance the next year in *Orkney*. *Cannute* therefore having thus establish't himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt therof, sailing again into *Denmark*, went thence to *Rome*, and offerd there to St. *Peter* great gifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; besides the usuall tribute of *Romsco*t, giving great Alms by the way, both thither and back again, freeing many places of Custom and Toll with great expence, where strangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great amendment of life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole people in a large letter writt'n from *Rome* yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to St. *Edmund* at *Bury*, whom his Ancestors had slain, threw out the secular Preists who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir stead; then going into *Scotland*, subdu'd and receav'd homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings there, *Melbeath*, and *Jermare*. Three years after having made *Swaxe* his suppos'd Son by *Algiva* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alshelms* Daughter (for others say the Son of a Preist whom *Algiva* barren had got
1029. *Sim. Dun.*
1030. *Sim. Dun.*
1031. *Sim. Dun.*
- Huntingd.*
1032. *Sim. Dun.*
- Huntingd.*
1033. *Sim. Dun.*



ready at the time of her feign'd labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma* King of *Denmark*, and design'd *Harold* his Son by *Algia* of *Northampton* King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester* in the old Monastery. *Florent.*

This King, as appears, ended better then he began, for though he seems to have had no hand in the Death of *Ironside*, but detested the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his Courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had op'nly related the manner of thir killing him, deliver'd them to deserved punishment, yet he spar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Authour of that detestable fact; till willing to berid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquisht, then extinguisht *Edmund* for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therfore said he with a chang'd countnance, Traytor to God and to me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master my confederate Brother, and the Lords Anointed. Whereupon although present and privat Execution was in rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himself in cool blood scrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Childern of *Edmund*, who had better right to be the Lords Anointed heer then himself. When he had obtain'd in *England* what he desir'd, no wonder if he sought the love of his conquerd Subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and state, for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the less care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King

*Ethelred.*

*Ethelred*. He commanded to be observ'd the anti-ent *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, not that hee made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from *Rome* professes, if he had done aught amiss in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any person, or to enrich the King, they suffer injustice to be done in the land; commands his treasurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home, which was by *Denmarke*, to compose matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attain'd the utmost of thir ambitions and desires; then to think God appeas'd by thir seeking to bribe him with a share however large of thir ill-gott'n spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was famous through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour, then at *Rome*, with rich gifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from Toll and Custome. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of circumstance, and emphatical expresseion, to shew the small power of Kings in respect of God; which, unless to Court-Parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be set on the shoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the State that Royalty could put

into his countenance, said thus to the Sea : Thou Sea belongst to me, and the Land wheron I sit is mine ; nor hath any one unpunish't resisted my commands : I charge thee come no further upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without reverence both wet and dash'd him. Wherat the King quickly riseing, wish'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the name of a King, but he whose Eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A truth so evident of it self, as I said before, that unless to shame his Court Flatterers who would not else be convinc't, *Canute* need-ed not to have gone wet-shod home : The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, esteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

*Harold.*

**H***arold* for his swiftness surnam'd *Harefoot*, the *Florent.*  
 Son of *Canute* by *Algiwa* of *Northampton* *Bromton.*  
 (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him *Hawingd.*  
 not, but had him of a Shoö-makers Wife, as *Swäne* *Mat. West.*  
 before of a Preist; others of a Maid-Servant, to *Mat. West.*  
 conceal her barrenness) in a great Assembly at *Ox-*  
*ford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with  
 the *Londoners*, according to his Fathers Testament,  
 elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, *Encom. Em.*  
 which *Ælnot* the Archbishop having in his Custody,  
 refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for  
 which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as  
 the Clergy are wont thence to inferr) all Religion.

1036.  
Sim. Dun.

*Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him stood for *Hardecnute*. *Malmsbury* saith, that the contest was between *Dane* and *English*; that the *Danes* and *Londoners* grown now in a manner *Danish*, were all for *Hardecnute*; but he being then in *Denmarke*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet so as that the Kingdom should be divided between them; the *West* and *Southpart* reserv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc'd into the *Throne*, banish'd *Emma* his *Mother-in-law*, seiz'd on his *Fathers* *Treasure* at *Winchester*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not holding it safe to abide in *Normandy* while *Duke William* the *Bastard* was yet under *Age*, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Alfred* and *Edward* Sons of *Ethelred*, accompanied with a small number of *Norman* Souldiers in a few *Ships*, coming to visit thir mother *Emma* not yet departed the land, and perhaps to see how the people were inclin'd to restore them thir right; *Elfred* was sent for by the *King* then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all seeming freindship entertain'd him, was in the night surpris'd and made *Pris'n'er*, most of his *Company* put to various sorts of cruel *Death*, decimated twice over, then brought to *London*, was by the *King* sent bound to *Eely*, had his *Eyes* put out by the way, and deliverd to the *Monks* there, dy'd soon after in thir *Custody*. *Malmsbury* gives little credit to this story of *Elfred*, as not *Chronicl'd* in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, sent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his *Brother*, with all speed into *Normandy*. But the *Authour* of *Encomium Emmae*, who seems plainly (though nameless)

to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in secret (for op'nly he durst not) against the life of *Emma*, sought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of thir mother, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces writt'n to this purpose.

**E***Mma in name only Queen, to her Sons Edward and Alfrid imparts motherly salutation. While we severally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, most Dear Sons, and while daily yee are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counsel yee take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthening to the Reign of your Usurper, who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, then to be held under the power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately; to receive from me wholsom Counsel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplisht. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, as dear both as my own Heart.*

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by express Messengers, with presents also as from thir mother; which they joyfully receiving,

return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. *Alfrid* therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about him appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of Earl *Godwin*, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly sorrowing for the loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediatly with some of the Nobles her faithfullest adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling assign'd at *Bruges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two years, she was visited out of *Denmarke* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with her there, when *Harold* in *England*, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the taxing of every Port at 8 marks of Silver to 16 Ships, dy'd at *London*, some say at *Oxford*; and was buried at *Winchester*. After which, most of the Nobility, both Danes and English now agreeing, send Embassadors to *Hardecnute* still at *Bruges* with his mother, entreating him to come and receive as his right the Scepter, who before *Midsummer* came with 60 Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmarke*.

1039.  
*Sim. Dun.*

*Huntingd.*

1040.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Malmf.*

### *Hardecnute.*

**H***Ardecnute* receav'd with acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind the injuries done to him or his Mother *Emma* in the time of *Harold*; sent *Alfric* Bishop of *Yorke*, *Godwin* and others, with *Trond* his Executioner to *London*, commanding them to dig up the body of King *Harold*,

and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second order, into the *Thames*. Whence tak'n up by a Fisherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the Danes, it was enterr'd again with honour. This done he levied a sore Tax, that 8 marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet should be paid throughout *England*; by which time they who were so forward to call him over, had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Bishop of *Worster*, about the Death of *Elfred* his Brother, which *Alfric* the Archbishop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Bishoprick, and gave it to his accuser: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round summe restor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his peace by a sumptuous present, a Gally with a guilded stem bravely rigg'd, and 80 Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of gold on each Arm, weighing 16 ounces, Helmet, Corslet, and Hilts of his Sword guilded; a Danish Curtax list'd with gold or silver, hung on his left shoulder, a Shield with boss and hailes guilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce: besides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own council or will, but by the command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfreds* Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. The next year, *Hardecnute* sending his Houscarles, so they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in thir Office, were slain at *Worster* by the people; wherat the King enrag'd, sent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces

Malm.

1041.

Sim. Dun.

and

and Commission to slay the Cittizens, rife and burn the City, and wast the whole Province. Affrighted with such news, all the people fled; the Country-men whither they could, the Cittizens to a small Iland in *severn*, call'd *Beverege*, which they fortified and defended stoutly, till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But thir City they found sack't and burnt; wherwith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that toward his half brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he shew'd himself alwayes tenderly affectiond; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindness receav'd, remain'd safely and honorably in his Court. But *Hardecnute* the year following, at a Feast wherin *Osgod* a great Danish Lord gave his Daughter in marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon* another potent Dane; in the midst of his mirth, sound and healthfull to sight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at *Winchester* beside his Father. He was it seems a great lover of good chere; sitting at Table fowr times a day, with great variety of Dishes and superfluity to all Commers. Whereas, saith *Huntingdon*, in our time Princes in thir houses made but one meal a day. He gave his Sister *Gumildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in marriage to *Henry* the *Abbot* Emperour; and to send her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richest Ornaments. But it may seem a wonder that our Historians, if they deserve that name, should in a matter so remarkable, and so neer thir own time, so much differ. *Huntingdon* relates against the credit of all other records, that *Hardecnute* thus

1042.

Sim. Dun.

1042.

1042.



thus dead, the English rejoycing at this unexpected riddance of the Danish yoke, sent over to *Elfred* the Elder Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Prisoner at *Eely*; sent thether by *Harold* six year before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of men to receive the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England* by marrying her to *Edward* a simple youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit then to accept her, perswaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many Normans, had promis'd them lands heer, that it was not safe to suffer a Warlike and subtle Nation to take root in the Land, that these were to be so handl'd as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King; therupon by common consent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with hostages to be left there of thir faithfull intentions to make him King, and thir desires not to bring over with him many Normans; that *Edward* at thir call came then first out of *Normandy*; whereas all others agree that he came voluntarily over to visit *Hardecnute*, as is before said, and was remaining then in Court at the time of his Death. For *Hardecnute* dead, saith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl *Godwin*, desiring therefore by messengers to have privat speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: at last assenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fall'n at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought him-

self

self at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him some whether out of the Land. *Godwin* soon apprehending the fair occasion that prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might easily be brought about if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the power and authority which he had in *England*, promised it should be all his to set him on the Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Assembly of States therupon met at *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his right; and by the powerfull influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmarke*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and submitted himself to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd op'nly with the Death of *Elfred*, and not without much ado, by the intercession of *Leofric* and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

### *Edward the Confessor.*

GLad were the English deliver'd so unexpectedly from thir Danish Maisters, and little thought how neer another Conquest was hanging over them. *Edward*, the *Easter* following, Crown'd at *Winchester*, the same year accompanied with Earl *Godwin*,

1043.  
*Sim. Dun.*

*Leofric*, and *Simard*, came again thether on a sudden, and by thir Counfel scis'd on the treasure of his Mother *Emma*. The cause alleg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Husband, and thereafter the Childern by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to Monasteries. About this time also King *Edward*, according to promise, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, commended much for beauty, modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a woman, learning. *Ingluf* a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. *Edward* the next year but one, made ready a strong Navy at *Sandwich* against *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who threat'nd an invasion; had not *Swane* King of *Denmarke* diverted him by a War at home to defend his own land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the Danes, banishing *Gunildis* the Neece of *Canute* with her two Sons, and *Osgod* by surname *Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* over-powred by *Magnus*, sent the next year to entreat aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counsel to send him 50 Ships fraught with Souldiers; but *Leofric* and the general voice gain-saying, none were sent. The next year *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway* sending Embassadors, made peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worster* and *Darby*, Pestilence and Famine in many places, much lesse'nd the enjoyment therof. The next year *Henry* the Emperour displeas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*,

*Malmf.*

1045.

*Sim. Dun.*

1046.

*Sim. Dun.*

1047.

*Sim. Dun.*

1048.

*Sim. Dun.*

1049.

*Sim. Dun.*

had streit'nd him with a great Army by land; and sending to King *Edward*, desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by sea. The King therefore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there staid till the Emperour came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean while *Swane* Son of Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbess of *Chester* by him deflour'd, had left the land, came out of *Dcnmarke* with 8 Ships, feigning a desire to return into the Kings favour; and *Beorn* his Cousin German, who commanded part of the Kings Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldome might be restor'd him. *Godwin* therefore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gone home, coming to *Pevensey* (but *Godwin* soon departing thence in pursuit of 29 Danish Ships who had got much booty on the Coast of *Essex*, and perish'd by tempest in thir return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevensey*, guilefully requests him to sail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* mistrusting no evill where he intended good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants: but *Swane* set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn* now in his power and bound him; then coming to *Dertmouth*, slew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of *Hastings* took six of his Ships and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he escap'd into *Flanders*, there remaining till *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster* by earnest mediation wrought his peace with the King. About this time King *Edward* sent to Pope *Leo*, desiring absolution from a vow, which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey

journey to *Rome*, if God voutsaf'd him to reign in *England*; the Pope dispenc'd with his vow, but not without the expence of his journey giv'n to the poor, and a Monastery built or re-edifi'd to *St. Peter*: who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose *Westminster*, which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large privileges and revennues. The same year, saith *Florent* of *Worster*, certain Irish Pirats with 36 Ships enterd the mouth of *Severn*, and with the aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the River *Wey*, burnt *Dunedham*, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster*, with a few out of *Gloster* and *Herefordshire*, went out in hast: but *Griffin* to whom the Welch and Irish had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the English with his whole power by night, and early in the morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next year but one, King *Edward* remitted the Danish Tax, which had continu'd 38 years heavy upon the land since *Ethelred* first paid it to the *Danes*, and what remain'd therof in his treasury he sent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse mischeif to the English; while studying gratitude to those Normans, who to him in exile had bin helpfull; he call'd them over to public Offices heer, whom better he might have repaid out of his privat purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman Conquest. *Robert* a Monk of that Country, who had bin serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William*

1051.

*Sim. Dun.**Ingulf.*

Ingulf.

Malms.

his Chaplain Bishop of *Dorchester*. Then began the English to lay aside thir own auriēt Customes, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great Peers to speak French in thir Houses, in French to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great peece of Gentility, aham'd of thir own: a preface of thir subjection shortly to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly: But that which gave begining to many troubles ensueing, happ'nd this year, and upon this occasion. *Ensluce* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous *Godfrey* who won *Jerusalem* from the Saracens, and Husband to *Goda* the Kings Sister, having bin to visit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by force in a House there, provok'd so the Master therof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The Count with his whole train going to the House where his Servant had bin kill'd, slew both the slayer and 18 more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, requited him with the slaughter of 21 more of his Servants, wounded most of the rest; hee himself with one or two hardly escaping; ran back with clamour to the King; whom seconded by other Norman Courtiers, he stirr'd up to great anger against the Cittizens of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* in hast is sent for, the cause related and much aggravated by the King against that City, the Earl commanded to raise Forces, and use the Cittizens therof as Enemies. *Godwin*, sorry to see strangers more favour'd of the King then his native people, answerd, that it were better to summon first the Cheif men of the Town into the Kings Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both parties might

might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwise, by fine or loss of life might satisfy the King whose peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd; till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile punishment them of his own County unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeas'd with his refusal, and not knowing how to compell him, appointed an Assembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloster*, where the matter might be fully try'd; the Assembly was full and frequent according to summons; but *Godwin* mistrusting his own cause, or the violence of his adversaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great power gatherd out of his own and his Sons Earldomes, which contain'd most of the South-East and West parts of *England*, came no furdur then *Beverstan*, giving out that thir Forces were to go against the Welch, who intended an irruption into *Herefordshire*; and *Swane* under that pretence lay with part of his Army thereabout. The Welch understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before the King, left *Godwin* detected of false accusation in great hatred to all the Assembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Siward* Dukes of great power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithfull to the King, send privily with speed to raise the Forces of thir Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, sent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Enslace* and his followers together with those *Boloigni*ans, who as *Siameon* writes, held a Castle in the jurisdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little force at hand, entertain'd him a while with treaties and delays,

*Sim. Dun.*

delays, till his summond Army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. *Godwin* thus match't, commanded his Sons not to begin fight against the King; begun with, not to give ground. The Kings Forces were the flower of those Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: But *Leofric* and the wisser sort detesting civil War, brought the matter to this accord, that Hostages giv'n on either side, the whole cause should be again debated at *London*. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, sent to *Godwin* and his Sons (who with thir powers were come as far as *Southwarke*) commanding thir appearance unarm'd with only 12 attendants, and that the rest of thir Souldiers they should deliver over to the King. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction deny'd; but to dismiss thir Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might stand with honour and the just regard of thir safety. This answer not pleasing the King, an edict was presently issu'd forth, that *Godwin* and his Sons within five days depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his numbers to diminish, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Tosti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much treasure as thir Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, sail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith Tosti* had married: for *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then hostage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Bristow*, in a Vessel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, pass'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* persueing his displeasure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, sending her despoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid,



Maid, to be kept in custody by his Sister the Abbess there. His reason of so doing was as harsh as his act, that she only, while her neereſt relations were in baniſhment, might not, though innocent, enjoy eaſe at home. After this, *William Duke of Normandy* with a great number of followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honorably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Caſtles, as it were to ſhew him what ere long was to be his own (though at that time, ſaith *Ingulf*, no mention thereof paſſ'd between them) then after ſome time of his abode heer, preſented richly and diſmiſſ't, he return'd home. The next year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkſhire* Abbot, but rather of ſome nameleſs Author living under *Edward* the 3<sup>d</sup>. or later, reports that the year before, by *Robert* the Archbiſhop ſhe was accus'd both of conſenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and of prepareing poyſon for *Edward* alſo; laſtly of too much familiarity with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; that to approve her innocence, praying over-night to *St. Swithun*, ſhe offerd to paſſ blindfold between certain Plow-ſhares red hot, according to the *Or-dalian Law*, which without harm ſhe perform'd; that the King therupon receay'd her to honour, and from her and the Biſhop, penance for his credulity; that the Archbiſhop aſham'd of his accusation fled out of *England*: which beſides the ſilence of anti-enter Authors (for the Biſhop fled not till a year after) brings the whole ſtory into ſuſpition, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning Plow-ſhares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of *St.*

*Malmſ.*

1052.

*Sim. Dun.**Swithune*

*Swithune* nine Mannors, and Bishop *Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales* wasted *Herefordshire*; to oppose whom the people of that Country with many Normans, garrison'd in the Castle of *Hereford*, went out in Armes, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driv'n away by the Welch. Soon after which, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in the Confines of *Somerset* and *Dorset-shire*, spoil'd many Villages, and resisted by those of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, slew in fight more then 30 of thir principal men, many of the common sort, and return'd with much booty to thir Fleet. King *Edward* on the other side made ready above 60 Ships at *Sandwich* well stor'd with men and provision, under the conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his Norman Kindred, enjoyning them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himself lay on ship-broad, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in search of those Pirats. But *Godwin*, whether in a mist, or by other accident, passing by them, arriv'd in another part of *Kent*, and dispersing secret messengers abroad, by fair words allur'd the cheif men of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, and *Essex* to his party; which news coming to the Kings fleet at *Sandwich*, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertisd of this, forthwith sail'd to the Ile of *Wight*; where at length his two sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with thir united Navy lay on the coast, forbearing other hostility then to furnish themselves with fresh victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one fleet they set forward to *Sandwich*, using all fair means by the way to encrease thir

numbers

Malms.

numbers both of Mariners and Souldiers. The King then at *London*, startl'd at these tydings, gave speedy order to raise Forces in all parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for *Godwin* within a few days after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southmark*, and till the tide return'd had conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in those times, he brought to his bent. The tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring, he row'd up in his Gallies along the South bank; where his Land-army, now come to him, in array of battel stood on the shore, then turning toward the North side of the River, where the Kings Gallies lay in some readiness, and Land-forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the souldiers on either side soon declar'd thir resolution not to fight *English* against *English*. Thence coming to treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both armies were dissolv'd, *Godwin* and his sons restor'd to their former dignities, except *Swane*, who touch't in conscience for the slaughter of *Beorn* his kinsman, was gone bare-foot to *Jernsalem*, and returning home, dy'd by sickness or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his wife *Edith*, *Godwins* daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjust things under the Kings authority, and giv'n him ill counsel against his people, banish't the Realm, some of them not blameable permitted to stay. *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly escaping with thir followers, got to Sea. The Archbishop went with his complaint to *Rome*; but returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the same

1053.  
Sim. Dun.

Monasterie from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* surrender'd thir Castles, and by permission of *Leofric* pass'd through his Counties with thir *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The year following *Rhesé* brother to *Griffin*, Prince of South *Wales*, who by in-  
 rodes had done much damage to the *English*, tak'n at *Bulendun*, was put to death by the Kings appointment, and his head brought to him at *Gloster*. The same year at *Winchester* on the second holy-day of *Easter*, Earl *Godwin* sitting with the King at table, sunk down suddenly in his seat as dead : his three sons *Harold*, *Tofti*, and *Gyrtha*, forthwith carried him into the Kings Chamber, hoping he might revive : but the malady had so seis'd him, that the fifth day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, saith *Malmsbury*, that mention happ'ning to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking sowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these words, Thou, O King, at every mention made of thy brother *Elfred*, look'st frowningly upon me : but let God not suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I be guilty of ought done against his life or thy advantage ; that after these words, choak't with the morsel tak'n, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first wife was the sister of *Canute*, a woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying up *English* Youths and Maids to sell in *Denmarke*, whereof she made great gain ; but ere long was struck with thunder, and dy'd. The year ensuing, *Simard* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a great number of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet at the Kings appointment, made an expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish't the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of *Scots* with those *Normans* that went thether, and

1054.  
Sim. Dun.

plac'd *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both English and Danes. Told of his Sons Death, *Huntingd.* he ask'd whether he receav'd his Deaths wound before or behind? when it was answerd before, I am glad, saith hee; and should not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Winchester* with great presents to the Emperour, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironside*, might be sent into *England*. *Simard* but one year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *Torke*; reported by *Huntingdon* a man of Giant like stature, & by his own demeanour at point of Death manifested, of a rough and meer souldierly mind. For much disdain'g to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with battel-ax and shield to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a Martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they are such, but as they serve to end War soonest by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King bestow'd on *Tosti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: and soon after in a Convention held at *London*, banish'd without visible cause, *Huntingdon* saith for treason, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*; who passing into *Ireland*, soon return'd with eighteen ships to *Griffin* Prince of South *Wales*, requesting his aid against King *Edward*. He assembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordshire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous

1055.  
*Sim. Dun.*

Captain, Son to the Kings Sister, not by *Eustace*, but a former husband, met two miles distant from *Hereford*; and having hors'd the *English* who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he with his *French* and *Normans* beginning to flie, taught the *English* by his example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the chase, slew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, slew seven Canons defending the Minster, burnt the Monasterie and Reliques, then the City; killing some, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great spoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloster* under the conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who strenuously pursuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*. But the enemy flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and fortifi'd *Hereford* with a wall and gates. Mean while *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the diligence of *Harold*, after many messages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* discharging his fleet with pay at *West Chester*, came to the King, and was restor'd to his Earldom.

1056. But *Griffin* with breach of faith, the next year set up-  
*Sim. Dun.* on *Leofgar* the Bishop of *Hereford* and his Clerks then at a place call'd *Glastbrig* with *Agelnoth* Vicount of the shire, and slew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward* by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduc'd him to Peace. The next year *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironside*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had sent to the Emperour, came out of *Hungary*, design'd Successor to the Crown; but within a few days after his coming dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Christina*

*Christina* his Daughters. About the same time also dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old age, a man of no less vertue then power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva* a woman of great praise. His Son *Algar* found less favour with King *Edward*, again banish't the year after his Fathers death; but he again by the aid of *Sim. Dun.* 1058.  
*Griffin* and a fleet from *Normay*, maugre the King, soon recover'd his Earldom. The next year *Mal-* 1059.  
*colm* King of *Scots* coming to visit King *Edward*, was *Sim. Dun.*  
brought on his way by *Tosti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he swore brotherhood: yet the next year 1061.  
but one, while *Tosti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* *Sim. Dun.*  
Archbishop of *York* for his Pall, this sworn brother taking advantage of his absence, roughly harraiss'd *Northumberland*. The year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent in-  
rodes and robberies of *Griffin*, whom no bonds of faith could restrain, King *Edward* sent against him after *Christmas* *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons* with no great body of Horse from *Gloster*, where he then kept his Court, whose coming heard of, *Griffin* 1062.  
not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap't hardly by Sea, ere *Harold* *Sim. Dun.*  
coming to *Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloster* the same day: But by the mid- 1063.  
dle of *May* setting out with a fleet from *Bristow*, he *Sim. Dun.*  
sail'd about the most part of *Wales*, and met by his brother *Tosti* with many Troops of Horse, as the King had appointed, began to waste the Country; but the *Welch* giving pledges, yeilded themselves, promis'd to become tributary, and banish *Griffin* thir Prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next year tak'n and 1064.  
slain by *Griffin* Prince of *North Wales*; his head *Sim. Dun.*  
with

with the head and tackle of his Ship sent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his gentleness made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in his stead ; they to *Harold* in behalf of the King swore fealty and tribute. Yet the next year *Harold* having built a fair house at a place call'd *Portascith* in *Monmouth-shire*, and stor'd it with provision, that the King might lodge there in time of hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin* slain the year before, came with a number of men, slew all he found there, and took away the provision. Soon after which the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beset the Palace of *Tosti* their Earl, slew more then 200 of his Souldiers and Servants, pillag'd his Treasure, and put him to flie for his life. The cause of this insurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Tosti's* behalf, *Gospatric* a noble man of that Country to be treacherously slain in the Kings Court ; and that *Tosti* himself the year before with like treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf* two other of thir noble men, besides his intolerable exactions and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of their grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Tosti's* request had sent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying op'n the cruelty of his Government, and thir own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyranny of any Governour whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing reason, all the accomplices of *Tosti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself banish't the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead. *Huntingdon* tells another cause of *Tosti's* banishment, that

1065.  
Sim. Dun.  
Camden.



one day at *Windſor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Toſti* envying to ſee his younger Brother in greater favour than himſelf, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his Hair: the ſcuffle was ſoon parted by other attendants ruſhing between, and *Toſti* forbidd'n the Court. He with continu'd fury rideing to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an entertainment for the King, came to the Houſe and ſet upon them with his followers; then lopping off Hands, Armes, Legs of ſome, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in for the Kings drinking: and at his going away charg'd them to ſend him this word, that of other freſh meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Sous he ſhould find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous Act the King pronounc'd him baniſht; that the Northumbrians taking advantage at the Kings diſpleaſure and ſentence againſt him, roſe alſo to be reveng'd of his cruelties done to themſelves; but this no way agrees, for why then ſhould *Harold* or the King ſo much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit him, if he were a baniſht man for his Crimes done before? About this time it happ'nd that *Harold* putting to Sea one-day for his pleaſure, in a Fiſher Boat, from his Mannor at *Boſekam* in *Suffex*, caught with a Tempeſt too far off land, was carried into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontieu*, on whoſe Coaſt he was driv'n, at his own requeſt brought to Duke *William*, who entertaining him with great courteſie, ſo far won him, as to promiſe the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Caſtle of *Dover* then in his te-

*Mulmſ.*

Leges Ed.

Conf. Tit.

Lex Noricor.

nure, but the Kingdome also after King *Edwards* Death to his utmost endeavour, therupon betrothing the Dukes Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say, that King *Edward* himself after the Death of *Edward* his Nephew, sent *Harold* thether, on purpose to acquaint Duke *William* with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom : but *Malmsbury* accounts the former story to be the truer. *Ingulf* writes, that King *Edward* now grown old, and perceiving *Edgar* his Nephew both in body and mind unfit to govern, especially against the pride and insolence of *Godwins* Sons, who would never obey him ; Duke *William* on the other side of high merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint the Duke of his purpose, not long before *Harold* came thether. The former part may be true, that King *Edward* upon such considerations had sent one or other ; but Archbishop *Robert* was fled the land, and dead many years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the Kings permission or connivence, to get free his Brother *Wulnod* and Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had tak'n hostages of *Godwin* and sent into *Normandy* ; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his journey thether would be to the detriment of all *England* and his own reproach ; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* ere his coming to the Crown had promised, if ever he attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Successor after him. Last of these *Mathew Paris* writes, that *Harold* to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thether not to have been by accident or force of Tem-

pest, but on set purpose, in that privat manner to enter with him into secret confederacie; so variously are these things reported. After this King *Edward* grew sickly, yet as he was able kept his *Christmas* at *London*, and was at the Dedication of *St. Peters* Church in *Westminster*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphanie*, or *Twelfstide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entomb'd. That he was harmles and simple, is conjecturd by his words in anger to a Peasant who had cross'd his Game (for with Hunting and Hawking he was much delighted) by God and Gods Mother, said hee, I shall do you as shrew'd a turn if I can; observing that Law-Maxim, the best of all his Successors, that the King of *England* can do no wrong. The softness of his Nature gave growth to factions of those about him, Normans especially and English; these complaining that *Robert* the Archbishop was a sower of dissention between the King and his people, a traducer of the English; the other side, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equall share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his simplicity, that through thir power in the land; they made no scruple to kill men of whose inheritance they took a likeing, and so to take possession. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boistrouly and violently, much against the Kings minde; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his Wife *Edith*. *Godwins* Daughter in such averstation, as in bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this cause or mistak'n Chastitie, not commendable; to enquire further is not material. His Laws held good and just, and

1066.  
Sim. Dun.

Huntingd.

long after desir'd by the English of thir Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing pult up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Alms-deeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charitie. He is said to be the first of English Kings that cur'd the Disease call'd thence the Kings Evil; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royaltie, not to his Sanctitie; said also to have cur'd certain blinde men with the water wherin he had wash'd his hands. A little before his Death, lying speechless two days, the third day after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Vision, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing told him they were sent Messengers from God to foretell, that because the great ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Abbots, were not Ministers of God but of the Devil, God had deliverd the Land to thir Enemies; and when he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answerd; they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them; at this relation others trembling, *Stigand* the Simonious Archbishop, whom *Edward* much to blame had sufferd many years to sit Primate in the Church, is said to have laugh't, as at the feavourish Dream of a doteing old man; but the event prov'd it true.

*Harold*

*Harold Son of Earl Godwin.*

**H**arold, whether by King *Edward* a little before *Hoved.*  
 his Death ordain'd Successor to the Crown, *Florent.*  
 as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and others affirm; or by the  
 prevalence of his faction, excluding *Edgar* the  
 right Heir, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironside*, as  
*Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree, no sooner was the  
 Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the same  
 day was elected and Crown'd King: and no sooner  
 plac't in the Throne, but began to frame himself  
 by all manner of compliances to gain affection, en-  
 deavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, be-  
 came a great Patron to Church and Church-men,  
 courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater  
 of evill doers, charg'd all his Officers to punish  
 Theeves, Robbers, and all disturbers of the peace,  
 while he himself by Sea and Land labourd in the  
 defence of his Country: so good an actor is ambition.  
 In the mean while a blazing Star, 7 Mornings toge-  
 ther, about the end of *April*, was seen to stream  
 terribly, not only over *England*, but other parts of  
 the World; foretelling heer, as was thought, the  
 great changes approaching: plainliest prognostica-  
 ted by *Elmer* a Monk of *Malmsbury*, who could not  
 foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own  
 Legs; for soaring too high, he in his youth strange-  
 ly aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his  
 Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tow-  
 er, spread out to gather air, he flew more then a  
 Furlong; but the wind being too high, came flut-  
 tering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet so  
 conceited of his Art, that he attributed the cause of  
 his

his fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration, yet for the strangeness therof, I thought worthy enough the placing as I found it plac'd in my Authour. But to digress no farther, *Tofti* the Kings Brother coming from *Flanders*, full of envy at his younger Brothers advancement to the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therefore them of *Wight Ile* to contribution, he sail'd thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coast between. *Harold* then residing at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horse Troops by Land, prepares in person for *Sandwich*: wherof *Tofti* having notice, directs his course with 60 Ships towards *Lindsey*, taking with him all the Sea-men he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with thir Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the Scottish King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke *William* sending Embassadors to admonish *Harold* of his promise and Oath, to assist him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answer, that by the death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath, or not Dead, he could not take her now an out-landish woman, without consent of the Realm; that it was presumptuously done and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of the States, he had sworn away the right of the Kingdome; that what

he

he swore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner then his Prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdome, conferr'd upon him with universal favour and acclamation of the people: to this flat deniall he added contempt, sending the Messengers back, saith *Mathew Paris.* on maim'd Horses. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addressees himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his cause, which *Harold*, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the ways to *Rome* were stop'd, sought not to do. Duke *William*, besides the promise and Oath of *Harold*, alleg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himself, and *Stigand* the Archbishop, had giv'n him the right of succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the guist; the Pope sent to Duke *William*, after this demonstration of his right, a consecrated Banner. Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and stout Souldiers, under Captains of great skill and mature Age, came in *August* to the Port of *St. Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he sails to the Ile of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William's* preparations and readines to invade him, kept good watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the shoar. But ere the middle of *September*, provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, *Harold Malmf. Harvager* King of *Normy*, with a Navy of more then *Mathew* 500 great Ships, (others less'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears

at

at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Tosti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed and enterd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Onse*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *Torke* by assault. At these tideings *Harold* with all his power halts thetherward; but ere his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *Torke*, on the North side of *Onse*, about the Feast of St. *Mathew* had giv'n them Battel; successfully at first, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc't to turn thir backs, more of them perish'd in the River, then in the Fight. The Norwegians taking with them 500 Hostages out of *Torke*, and leaving there 150 of thir own, retir'd to thir Ships. But the fift day after, King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *Tork*, and at *Stamford-Bridge*, or *Battell-Bridge* on *Darwent*, assailing the Norwegians, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with *Harfager* thir King, and *Tosti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, surrendring themselves with Hostages and Oath giv'n never to return as Enemies, he sufferd freely to depart with 20 Ships and the small remnant of thir Army. One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridge a long hour against the whole English Army, with his single resistance delai'd thir Victorie; and scorning offerd life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemn'd as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall op'nd the passage of persuit to a compleat Victorie.

Wherwith

Camd.

Malmf.



Wherewith *Harold* lifted up in minde, and forgetting now his former shews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers thir due and well deserved share of the spoils. While these things thus past in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay still at *St. Valerie*; his Ships were readie, but the wind serv'd not for many days; which put the Souldierie into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky sign of thir success; at last the wind came favourable, the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of 900 Ships with a prosperous gale arriv'd at *Hastings*. At his going out of the Boat by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier standing by said aloud, that thir Duke had tak'n possession of *England*. Landed, he restrain'd his Army from waite and spoil, saying, that they ought to spare what was thir own. But these are things related of *Alexander* and *Cesar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay thir story. The Duke for 15 days after landing kept his men quiet within the Camp, having tak'n the Castle of *Hastings*, or built a Fortres there. *Harold* secure the while and proud of his new Victorie, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevensey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminish't after two sore conflicts and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great hast marches to *London*. Thence not tarry-

*Sim. Dux.*

ing for supplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Sussex* (for he was always in hast since the day of his Coronation) and ere the third part of his Army could be well put in order, findes the Duke about 9 mile from *Hastings*, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his Enemies: them, discoverd such, the Duke causing to be led about, and after well fill'd with meat and drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Dukes Army were most of them Priests; for they saw thir faces all over shav'n; the English then using to let grow on thir upper-lip large Mustachio's, as did antiently the *Britans*. The King laughing answerd, that they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therefore said *Girtha* his Brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy self to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may justly fight in the defence of our Country; thou reserv'd to fitter time, maist either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, least it might seem to argue fear in him or a bad cause, with like resolution rejected the offers of Duke *William* sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only answer hastily deliverd, let God judge between us. The offers were these, that *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his title with him by single Combate in the sight of both Armies, or referr it to the Pope. These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the English from singing and drinking all night, the Normans from confession of

thir sins and communion of the host. The English were in a streit disadvantageous place, so that many discourag'd with thir ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the onset, the rest in close order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himself with his Brothers on foot stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with gold and pretious Stones. The Norman Foot, most Bowmen, made the formost Front, on either side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke Arming, and his Corslet giv'n him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *the strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army singing the Song of *Rowland*, the remembrance of whose exploits might hart'n them, imploring lastly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side; but the main body of English Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into op'n disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the third hour of day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell also his two Brothers,

R r

*Leofwin,*

*Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them greatest part of the English Nobility. His Body lying dead a Knight or Souldier wounding on the thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of military service. Of Normans and French were slain no small number; the Duke himself also that day not a little hazard-ed his person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the English also by permission, he sent the body of *Harold* to his mother without ransom, though she offerd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd, she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Harold*, hearing of his Death, came to *London*; sending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Sister with all speed to *West-Chester*. *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners* would have set up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not likeing the choice, who each of them expected to have been chos'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and return'd home. Duke *William* contrary to his former resolution, if *Florent* of *Worster*, and they who follow him say true, wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way, or rather, as saith *Malmsbury*, not in hostile but in regal manner came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave hostages, and swore fidelity, he to them promis'd peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on

*Christmass*

*Sim. Dun.*

*Christmas* day sollemly Crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Archbishop of *Tork*, having first giv'n his Oath at the Altar in presence of all the people, to defend the Church, well govern the people, maintain right Law; prohibit rapine and unjust judgment. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the choice of thir native King, were constrein'd to take the Yoke of an out-landish Conquerer. With what minds and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* spares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessors daies, had lost all good literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand thir Latin Service: he was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it self no fault, yet to their Consciencs was irreligious. The great men giv'n to gluttony and dissolute life, made a prey of the common people, abuseing thir Daughters whom they had in service, then turning them off to the Stews, the meaner sort tipling together night and day, spent all they had in Drunk'ness, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more then any true fortitude or skill of War, they gave to *William* thir Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous daies with the good, so his severity oft times exempts not good men from thir share in evil times with the bad.

*If these were the Causes of such misery and thralldom to those our Ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, then here in fit season to remember this Age in the midst of her security, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolutions of like Calamities.*

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*FINIS.*

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AN  
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- Chrysanthus the Son of Marcianus a Bishop, made Deputy of Britain by Theodosius.* p. 93.
- Cingetorix a petty King in Britain, assaults the Roman Camp.* p. 46. *is taken Prisoner by Cæsar.* p. 47.
- Claudius the Emperour is perswaded by Bericus, though a Britan, to invade this Island.* p. 51. *he sends Aulus Plautius hither with an Army.* p. 52. *he comes over himself and joins with Plautius.* p. 53. *defeats the Britans in a set Battel, and takes Camalodunum,* p. 54. *he returns to Rome, leaving Plau-*



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- Plautius *behind.* *ibid.* *he hath excessive honours decreed him by the Senate.* *ibid.*
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*Constantius Chlorus sent against Carausius. p. 86.*  
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*88. divides the Empire with Galerius. ibid. dies at*  
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Eatbright, otherwise call'd Ethelbert, usurping the Kingdom of Kent, and contending with Kenulph the Mercian, is taken prisoner. p. 182.

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- Ecbert succeeds his Father Ercombert in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 163. dying, leaves a suspicion of having slain his Uncle's Sons Elbert and Egelbright. p. 163.*
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- Ecferth the Son of Offa the Mercian within four months ends his Reign.* p. 181, 182.
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p. 164.

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Edmund

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- Edmund *surnamed Ironside, the Son of Ethelred, set up by divers of the Nobles against Canute, p. 262. in several Battels against the Danes, he comes off for the most part victorious, p. 263, 264. at length consents to divide the Kingdom with him, p. 265. his death thought to have been violent, and not without Canute's consent.* p. 266.
- Edred *the third Brother and Successor of Athelstane, with much ado reduceth the Northumbrians, and puts an end to that Kingdom, p. 232. dies in the flower of his age, and is buried at Winchester.* p. 233.
- Edric *the Son of Edelwalk King of South-Saxons slain by Kedwalla the West-Saxon.* p. 165.
- Edric *surnamed Streon advanc't by King Ethelred, marries his Daughter Elgiva, p. 254. he secretly murders two Noblemen whom he had invited to his Lodging, p. 259. he practises against the life of Prince Edmund, and revolts to the Danes, p. 260. his cunning devices to hinder Edmund in the prosecution of his Victories against Canute, p. 263, 264. is thought by some to have been the Contriver of King Edmunds murder, p. 266. the Government of the Mercians conferr'd upon him, p. 268. he is put to death by Canutus, and his head stuck upon a pole, and set upon the highest Tower in London.* p. 268.
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- Edward Son of Edmund Ironside, Heir apparent to the Crown, dies at London. p. 292.
- Edward surnamed the Confessor, the Son of King Ethelred by Emma, after Hardecnute's death is crown'd at Winchester, p. 280. he seizeth on the Treasures of his mother Queen Emma, p. 281. he marries Edith Earl Godwin's Daughter, *ibid.* he makes preparation against Magnus King of Norway, but next year makes peace with Harold Harvager, *ibid.* he advances the Normans in England, which proves of ill consequence, p. 283. he is oppos'd by Earl Godwin in the Cause of Eustace of Boloign, banishes the Earl, and divorces his Daughter whom he had married, p. 285, 286. entertains Duke William of Normandy, p. 287. he sends Odo and Radulf with a Fleet against Godwin, and his Sons exercising Piracy, p. 288. reconciliation at length made, he restores the Earl, his Sons and Daughter, all to their former dignities, p. 289. he is said to have design'd Duke William of Normandy his Successor to the Crown, p. 296. dies

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- Edwin Duke of the Mercians, ſee Morcar.*
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- Eldol.* *ibid.*
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Elind reckon'd in the number of ancient British Kings.

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- Ethelbald and Ethelbert *ſhare the Engliſh-Saxon Kingdom between them aſter their Father Ethelwolf,* Ethelbald *marries Judith his Father's Widow,* p. 198. *is buried at Shirburn.* ibid.
- Ethelbert *ſucceeds Emeric in the Kingdom of Kent,* p. 127. *he is defeated at Wibbandun by Kēaulin and his Son Cutha,* p. 128. *inlarges his Dominions from Kent to Humber,* p. 137. *civilly receives Auſtin and his Fellow-preachers of the Goſpel,* p. 139. *is himſelf baptiz'd,* p. 140. *mov'd by Auſtin, he builds S. Peters Church in Canterbury, and endows it,* p. 141. *he builds and endows S. Paul's Church in London, and the Cathedral at Rocheſter,* p. 142. *his death,* p. 145.
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*Ethelred succeeding his Brother Wulfer in the Kingdom of Mercia, recovers Lindsey and other parts, p. 164. invades the Kingdom of Kent, ibid. a sore Battel between him and Ecfrid the Northumbrian, p. 166. after the violent death of his Queen he exchanges his Crown for a Monks Cowl.*  
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*Ethelric Ida's Son expels Edwin the Son of Alla out of the Kingdom of Deira.* p. 133.

*Ethelwald the Son of Oswald King of Deira, taking part with the Mercians, withdraws his Forces, p. 160.*

*Ethelwald the Brother of Edelhere succeeds him in the Kingdom of the East-Angles.* p. 161.

*Ethelwald surnamed Mollo set up King of the Northumbrians in the room of Oswulf, p. 177. he slays in Battel Oswin a Lord that rebell'd against him, ib. is set upon by Alclred who assumes his place.* ibid.

*Ethelwolf the second Monarch of the English-Saxons, of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious. p. 192. he with his Son Ethelbald gives the Danes a total defeat at Ak-Lea or Oak-Lea, p. 194. he dedicates the tenth of his whole Kingdom toward the maintenance of Masses and Psalms for the prospering of him and his Captains against the Danes, p. 195. takes a journey to Rome with his Son Alfrid, and marries Judith the Daughter of Charles the Bald of France, ibid. he is driven by a Conspiracy to consign half his Kingdom to his Son Ethelbald, p. 195. dies and is buried at Winchester, p. 197.* Ethel-

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Etheldrith *refusing for 12 years her Husband Ecfriids Bed, at length veils her self a Nun, and is made Abbess of Ely.* p. 167.

Eustace *Count of Bolosign revenging the death of one of his servants, is set upon by the Citizens of Canterbury*, p. 284. *he complains to King Edward who takes his part against the Canterburians, and commands Earl Godwin against them, but in vain.* p. 284, 285.

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## F.

**F**Aganus and Deruvianus *said to have preach't the Gospel here, and to have converted almost the whole Island.* p. 79.

Faustus *incestuously born of Vortimer and his Daughter, lives a devout life in Glamorgan-shire.* p. 115.

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Ferrex *the Son of Gorbogudo, slays in fight his Brother Porrex, though assisted with Forces out of France*, p. 21. *is in revenge slain himself in bed by his Mother Videna.* ibid.

Flattery *odious and contemptible to a generous Spirit.* p. 273.

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gious Stratagem, p. 105. his death. p. 108.

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the



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- the King, p. 289. sitting with the King at Table, he suddenly sinks down dead in his seat.* p. 290.
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- Gorbonian** *succeeds Morindus in the Kingdom, p. 25. his justice and piety.* p. 25, 26.
- Gratianus Funarius** *the Father of Valentinian, Commander in chief of the Roman Armies in Britain.* p. 89.
- Gregory** *Archdeacon of Rome, and afterward Pope, procures the sending over of Abbot Austin and others to preach the Gospel to the Saxons in this Island.* p. 138.
- Griffin** *Prince of South-Wales joyning with Algar, and committing great spoil in Hereford, is pursued by Harold Earl of Kent, p. 292. after a peace concluded, he breaks his faith, and returns to Hostility, ibid. is again reduc't, ibid. Harold sent against him, brings the Welsh to submission, p. 293. lurking about the Country, he is taken and slain by Griffin Prince of North-Wales.* ibid.
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- Gythro or Gothrun *a Danish King baptiz'd and receiv'd out of the Font by King Alfred, p. 207. the Kingdom of the East-Angles said to be bestow'd on him to hold of the said Alfred.* ibid.

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Harold surnamed Harefoot, the Son of Canute elected King by Duke Leofric and the Mercians, p. 273. he banishes his Mother-in-Law Emma, p. 274. his perfidiousness and cruelty towards Elfred the Son of Ethelred, p. 274, 276. he dies and is buried at Winchester. p. 276.

Harold Son of Godwin, made Earl of Kent, and sent against Prince Griffin of Wales, p. 292. he reduces him at last to utmost extremity, p. 293. being cast upon the Coast of Normandy, and brought to Duke William, he promises his endeavours to make him King of England, p. 295, 296. he takes the Crown himself, p. 299. puts off Duke William demanding it with a slighting answer, p. 300, 301. is invaded by his Brother Tosti, p. 300. by Harold Harvager King of Norway, whom he utterly overthrows and slays, together with Tosti, p. 301, 302. is invaded by Duke William of Normandy, p. 303. is overthrown at the Battel of Hastings, and slain together with his two Brothers Leofwin and Gyrtha. p. 305.

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- Ina succeeds Kedwalla in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 168. he marches into Kent to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo, ibid. is pacified by Victred with a sum of money, and the delivering up of the Accessories, ibid. vanquishes Gerent King of Wales, p. 170. slays Kenwulf and Albright, and vanquishes the East-Angles, p. 171. ends his days at Rome.* ibid.
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- Joseph of Arimathæa said to have first preacht the Christian Faith in this Island.* p. 80.
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ibid.

**Julius Frontinus** *the Emperours Lieutenant in Britain, tames the Silures a warlike people.*

p. 69.

**Julius Severus** *governs Britain under Adrian the Emperour.*

p. 78.

## K.

**K** *Earl surrenders the Kingdom of Mercia to his Kinsman Penda.*

p. 152.

**Keaulin** *succeeds his Father Kenric in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 127. he and his son Cuthin slay three British Kings at Deorham, p. 133. gives the Britans a very great rout at Fethanleage, ibid.*

*is*

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*is totally routed by the Britans at Wodenbeorth,  
and chac't out of his Kingdom, dies in poverty,*

p. 134.

**Kendwalla or Kadwallon** a British King joyning with  
Penda the Mercian, *slays Edwin in Battel.* p. 157.

**Kedwalla** a West-Saxon Prince returned from Banishment,  
*slays in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, and  
after that Edric his Successor,* p. 165. *going to the  
Isle of Wight, he devotes the fourth part thereof to  
holy uses,* *ibid.* *the Sons of Arwald King of that Isle  
slain by his order,* p. 166. *he harrasses the Country of  
the South-Saxons,* *ibid.* *is repell'd by the Kentish  
men,* *ibid.* *yet revenges the death of his Brother  
Mollo,* *ibid.* *going to Rome to be baptiz'd, he dies  
there about five weeks after his Baptism.* p. 168.

**Kelred** the Son of Ethelred succeeds Kenred in the  
Mercian Kingdom, p. 169. *possess'd with an evil spi-  
rit, he dies in despair.* p. 170.

**Kelwulf** reigns King of the West-Saxons after Keola,  
p. 140. *he makes War upon the South-Saxons,*  
p. 145. *dying, leaves the Kingdom to his Brothers  
Sons.* *ibid.*

**Kenwulf** adopted by Ofric the Northumbrian to be his  
Successor in the Kingdom, p. 171. *he becomes a Monk  
in Lindisfarn.* p. 173.

**Kened** King of the Scots does high honour to King Ed-  
gar, p. 236. *receives great favours from him,* *ibid.*  
*is challeng'd by him upon some words let fall, but  
soon pacifies him.* p. 237.

**Kenelm** succeeding a Child in the Kingdom of Mercia  
after Kenulf, *is murther'd by order of his Sister Quen-  
drid.* p. 186.

**Kenred** the Son of Wulfer succeeds Ethelred in the  
Mercian Kingdom, p. 169. *having reign'd a while,*

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another Kenred succeeds in the Kingdom of Northumberland.* p. 170.

*Kenric the Son of Kerdic overthrows the Britans that oppose him, p. 120. kills and puts to flight many of the Britans at Searesbirig now Salisbury, p. 127. afterwards at Beranvirig now Banbury.* ibid.

*Kentwin a West-Saxon King chases the Welsh-Britans to the sea-shore.* p. 165.

*Kenulf hath the Kingdom of Mercia bequeath'd him by Ecferth, p. 182. he leaves behind him the praise of a vertuous Reign.* p. 186.

*Kenwalk succeeds his Father Kinegils in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 156. his successes variously deliver'd, p. 158. he is said to have discomfited the Britans at Pen in Somerset-shire, p. 161. and giving Battel to Wulfer to have taken him prisoner, p. 162. dying, leaves the Government to Sexburga his Wife.* p. 163.

*Kenwulf entituled Clito slain by Ina the West-Saxon,* p. 171.

*Kenwulf King of the West-Saxons, see Kinwulf.*

*Keola the Son of Cuthulf succeeds his Uncle Keaulin in the West-Saxon Kingdom.* p. 134.

*Keolwulf the Brother of Kenulf the Mercian, after two years reign driven out by Bernulf a Usurper.* p. 186.

*Keorle with the Forces of Devonshire overthrows the Danes at Wigganbeorch.* p. 193.

*Kerdic a Saxon Prince lands at Kerdicshore, and overthrows the Britans, p. 120. defeats their King Natanled in a memorable Battel, ibid. founds the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 121. he overthrows the Britans again twice at Kerdic's Ford, and at Kerdic's League.* p. 121, 122.

Kimia-



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**Kimarus** *reckon'd among the ancient British Kings.*

p. 25.

**Kinegils and Cuichelm** *succeed Kelwulf in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 145. they make Truce with Penda the Mercian, p. 152, 153. they are converted to the Christian Faith, p. 155. Kinegils dying leaves his Son Kenwalk to succeed.*

p. 156.

**Kinmarcus** *succeeds Sifillius in the Kingdom.*

p. 21.

**Kinwulf, or Kenwulf** *(Sigebert being thrown out, and slain by a Swineherd) is saluted King of the West-Saxons, p. 175. behaves himself valorously in several Battels against the Welsh, p. 177. put to the worst at Befington by Offa the Mercian, ibid. is routed and slain in Battels by Kineard whom he had commanded into Banishment.*

p. 178.

**Kymbeline or Cunobeline** *the Successor of Tenuantius said to be brought up in the Court of Augustus, p. 51. his chief Seat Camalodunum or Maldon.*

ibid.

## L.

**L** *Earning and Arts when began to flourish among the Saxons.*

p. 163.

**Leil** *succeeds Brute Greenheild, and builds Caerleil.*

p. 16.

**Leofric Duke of Mercia and Siward of Northumberland** *sent by Hardecnute against the people of Worcester, p. 277, 278. by their Counsel King Edward seizeth on the Treasures of his Mother Queen Emma, p. 281. they raise Forces for the King against Earl Godwin, p. 285. Leofric's death.*

p. 293.

**Leofwin Son of Earl Godwin,** *after his Fathers Banishment goes over with his Brother Harold into Ireland,*

p. 286.

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- p. 286. *he and Harold assist their Father with a Fleet against King Edward*, p. 288. *he is slain with his Brothers Harold and Gyrtha in the Battel against William Duke of Normandy.* p. 305.
- Linceus deliver'd in fabulous story to be the Husband of one of the feign'd 50 Daughters of Dioclesian King of Syria*, p. 5. *the only man sav'd by his Wife, when all the rest of the 50 slew their Husbands.* ib.
- Locrin the eldest Son of Brutus hath the middle part of this Island call'd Leogria for his share in the Kingdom.* p. 14.
- Lollius Urbicus draws a Wall of Turfs between the frith of Dunbritton and Edinborough.* p. 78.
- London with a great multitude of her Inhabitants by a sudden fire consumed.* p. 183.
- Lothair succeeds his Brother Ecbert in the Kingdom of Kent.* p. 163.
- Lucius a King in some part of Britain thought the first of any King in Europe who receiv'd the Christian Faith*, p. 79. *is made the second by descent from Marius, ibid. after a long Reign buried at Gloucester.* p. 80.
- Lud walls about Trinovant, and calls it Caer Lud or Luds Town.* p. 28.
- Ludiken the Mercian going to avenge Bernulf, is surpris'd by the East-Angles, and put to the sword.* p. 187.
- Lupicinus sent over Deputy into this Island by Julian the Emperour, but soon recall'd.* p. 91.
- Lupus Bishop of Troyes assistant to Germanus of Auxerre in the Reformation of the British Church.* p. 104.

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## M.

**M** *Adan succeeds his Father Locrin in the Kingdom.* p. 15.

*Maglaunus Duke of Albania marries Gonorill eldest Daughter of King Leir.* p. 18.

*Magoclune surnamed the Island Dragon, one of the five that reign'd toward the beginning of the Saxon Heptarchy.* p. 132.

*Magus the Son and Successor of Samothos, whom some sabel to have been the first peopler of this Island.* p. 4.

*Malcolm Son of Kened King of Scots, falling into Northumberland with his whole power utterly overthrown by Uthred, p. 262. some say by Eric.* p. 269.

*Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King made King of Scotland by Siward in the room of Macbeth.* p. 290, 291.

*Malcolm King of Scotland coming to visit King Edward, swears brotherhood with Tosti the Northumbrian, p. 293. afterwards in his absence harrasses Northumberland.* ibid.

*Mandubratius Son of Immanuentius favour'd by the Trinobantes against Cassibelan.* p. 46.

*Marganus the Son of Gonorill deposeth his Aunt Cordelia, p. 20. shares the Kingdom with his Cousin Cunedagius, invades him, but is met and overcome by him.* p. 20

*Marganus the Son of Archigallo a good King.* p. 27.

*Marius the Son of Arviragus is said to have overcome the Picts, and slain their King Roderic.* p. 79.

*Martia the Wife of King Guitheline said to have instituted the Law call'd Marchen Leage.* p. 24, 25.

*Martinus made Deputy of the British Province failing*

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- to kill Paulus, falls upon his own Sword.* p. 90.
- Maximianus Hercules forc't to conclude a peace with Caransius, and yield him Britain. p. 86.
- Maximus a Spaniard usurping part of the Empire, is overcome at length and slain by Theodosius, p. 93.
- Maximus a friend of Gerontius is by him set up in Spain against Constantine the Usurper. p. 95.
- Mempricius one of Brutus his Council perswades him to hasten out of Greece. p. 10.
- Mempricius and Malim succeed their Father Madan in the Kingdom, p. 15. Mempricius traicherously slaying his Brother, gets sole possession of the Kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at last devour'd by Wolves. p. 15.
- Mellitus, Justus, and others sent with Austin to the Conversion of the Saxons, p. 140. he converts the East-Saxons, p. 142. S. Paul's Church in London built for his Cathedral by Ethelred, as that of Rochester for Justus. ibid.
- Mollo, the Brother of Kedwalla, pursu'd, beset, and burnt in a house whither he had fled for shelter, p. 166. his death reveng'd by his Brother. ibid.
- Morcar the Son of Algar made Earl of Northumberland in the room of Tosti, p. 294. he and Edwin Duke of the Mercians put Tosti to flight, p. 300. they give Battel to Harold Harfager, King of Norway: but are put to the worst, p. 302. they refuse to set up Edgar, and at length are brought to swear fidelity to Duke William of Normandy. p. 305.
- Mordred Arthur's Nephew said to have given him in a Battel his death's wound. p. 131.
- Morindus, the son of Elanius by Tanguetela, a valiant man, but infinitely cruel. p. 25.
- Mulmutius, see Dunwallo.

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O.

**O**cta and Ebiſſa call'd over by Hengiſt their Un-  
cle, p. 13. they poſſeſs themſelves of that part of  
the Iſle which is now Northumberland. *ibid.*

**Oenus**, one in the Catalogue of ancient Britiſh Kings.  
p. 28.

**Oeric or Oife** ſucceeds his Father Hengiſt in the King-  
dom of Kent, and from him the Kentiſh Kings call'd  
Oifciings, p. 119. he is otherwiſe call'd Eſca, p. 127.

**Offa** the Son of Siger quits his Kingdom of the Eaſt-  
Saxons to go to Rome and turn Monk with Kenred.  
p. 169, 170. 174.

**Offa** defeating and ſlaying Beornred the Uſurper, be-  
comes King of Mercia after Ethelbald, p. 176. he  
ſubdues a neighbouring people call'd Heſtings, p. 177.  
gets the Victory of Alric King of Kent at Occanford,  
*ibid.* inviting Ethelbright King of the Eaſt-Angles  
to his Palace, he there treacherouſly cauſeth him to  
be beheaded, and ſeizeth his Kingdom, p. 180. his  
at firſt enmity afterwards league with Charles the  
Great, p. 181. he grants a perpetual Tribute to the  
Pope out of every houſe in his Kingdom, *ibid.* he draws  
a Trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the  
Britiſh Conſines, his death. *ibid.*

**Oſbald** a Nobleman exalted to the Throne of the Nor-  
thumbrians after Ethelred. p. 182.

**Oſbert** reigns in Northumberland after the laſt of the  
Ethelreds in the time of the Daniſh Invaſion. p. 193.

**Oſbert and Ella** helping the Picts againſt Donaldus  
King of Scotland, put the Scots to flight at Sterlin-  
bridge with great ſlaughter, and take the King priſo-  
ner. p. 196.

**Oſfrid**

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- Osfrid and Eanfrid the sons of Edwin converted and baptized, p. 152. Osfrid slain together with his Father in a Battel against Kedwalla. p. 153.
- Oslac and Cnebhan two Saxon Earls slain by Keanlin at Wibbandun. p. 128.
- Osmund King of the South-Saxons. p. 176.
- Osred a Child succeeds Aldfrid in the Northumbrian Kingdom, p. 169. he is slain by his kindred for his vicious life. p. 170.
- Osred Son of Alcred advanc't to the Kingdom of Northumberland after Elfwald, is soon driven out again, p. 179. is taken and forcibly shaven a Monk at York. p. 180.
- Osric the Son of Elfric baptiz'd by Paulinus, succeeds in the Kingdom of Bernicia, p. 154. turns Apostate, and is slain by an Eruption of Kedwalla out of a besie'd Town, ibid. another Osric succeeds Kenred the second. p. 170.
- Osric Earl of Southampton and Ethelwolf of Berkshire beat the Danes back to their Ships. p. 199.
- Ostorius sent Vice-prator into Britain in the room of Plautius the Prator, p. 55. routs the Britans, and improves his Victory to the best advantage, p. 55, 56. gives the Government of several Cities to Cogidunus a British King his Allie, p. 56. defeats the Silures under the leading of Caractacus. p. 57.
- Osfrid the Wife of Ethelred kill'd by her own Nobles. p. 169.
- Oswald Brother of Eanfrid living exil'd in Scotland, is there baptiz'd, p. 154. with a small Army utterly overthrows Kedwalla, ibid. settles Religion, and very much enlarges his Dominions, p. 155. overcame, and slain in Battel by Penda at Maserfeld, now Oswestry, p. 156. Oswi succeeds his Brother Oswald in the

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*the Kingdom, p. 156. he persuades Sigebert to receive the Christian Faith, p. 159. he discovers Penda's vast Army, p. 160. he subdues all Mercia, and the greatest part of the British Nation, p. 161. shaken off by the Persian Nobles, and Wulfer set upon his stead, ibid. his death. p. 163.*

*Oswin the Nephew of Edwin shares with Oswi in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 157. coming to Arms with him, he is over-match'd, and slain by his Command. ibid.*

*Oswulf hath the Crown of Northumberland relinquish'd to him by Eadbert, p. 176. slain by his own Servants. p. 177.*

*Otha succeeds Esca in the Kingdom of Kent. p. 127.*

*Otter and Roald two Danish Leaders landing in Devonshire, their whole Forces are scatter'd, and Roald slain. p. 218.*

P.

**P***Andraſus a Grecian King keeps the Trojans in ſervitude, p. 7. is ſet upon and beaten by Brutus. p. 8, 9.*

*Paulinus ſent ſpiritual Guardian with Edelburga, endeavours to convert Northumberland to Chriſtianity, p. 148. the manner of his winning King Edwin to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, p. 149, 151. he converts the Province of Lindſey and Blecca the Governor of Lincoln, and builds a Church in that City. p. 152.*

*Penda the Son of Penda and Prince of the Middle Angles, is baptiz'd with all his Followers, p. 158. he hath South-Mercia conſtituted on him by Oswi, p. 161.*

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*is slain by the treachery of his Wife on Easter-day.*  
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Pelagius a Britan brings new opinions into the Church,  
p. 94. the Pelagian Doctrine refuted by Germanus,  
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Germanus. p. 108.

Penda the Son of Wibba King of Mercia bath the King-  
dom surrender'd him by Kearle, p. 152. he joyns  
with Kedwalla against Edwin, p. 153. he slays Of-  
wald in Battel, p. 156. in another Battel Sigebert,  
p. 157. in another Anna King of the East-Angles,  
p. 159. he is slain in a Battel against Ofwi. p. 161

Penissel reckon'd in the number of ancientest British  
Kings. p. 28.

Peredure and Vigenius expel their Brother Elidure,  
and share the Kingdom between them. p. 27.

Perjury an example of Divine vengeance in Alfred who  
confir'd against King Athelstane. p. 223.

Petilius Cerealis utterly defeated by the Britans, p. 64.  
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Petronius Turpilianus commands in chief in Britain  
after Suetonius Paulinus. p. 68.

Pir one of the ancientest Race of British Kings. p. 28.

Picts and Scots barraß the South Coasts of Britain. p. 91.  
&c. See Scots.

Picts and Saxons beaten by the Britans, through the pious  
Conduct of Germanus. p. 104, 105.

Porrex the Son of Gorbogudo, though assisted from  
France, is slain by his Brother Ferrex, p. 21. his  
death reveng'd by his Mother Videna, ibid. another  
of that name reckon'd in the Catalogue of British  
Kings. p. 28.

Portsmouth denominated from the landing of Porta a  
Saxon Prince with his two Sons Bida and Megla,  
p. 120.



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**Praefutagus King of the Iceni**, leaving **Cæsar** coheir  
with his Daughters, causeth the Britans to revolt.

p. 62, 63.

**Priscus Licinius Esutenant** in this Isle under **Adrian**.

p. 78.

**Probus** subdues the Usurper **Bonofus**, who falls in the  
Battel, p. 85. prevents by his wisdom new risings in  
Britain.

ibid.

## R.

**R**eadwulf succeeding **Ethelred** in Northumbria,  
soon after his Coronation, cut off with his whole  
Army by the Danes at **Alvetheli**.

p. 193.

**Rederchius** reckon'd among the ancient British Kings.

p. 28.

**Redion**, another British King.

ibid.

**Redwald King of the East-Angles** wars against **Ethel-**  
**frid**, in defence of **Edwin**, and slays him in Battel.

p. 147.

**Regin** son of **Gorbonian**, a good King.

p. 27.

**Rivallo** succeeds his Father **Cunedagus**.

p. 21.

**Rollo** the Dane or Norman having fought unsucces-  
sfully here, turns his Forces into France, and con-  
quers the Country since call'd Normandy.

p. 212.

**Romans** land in Britain under the Conduct of **Julius**  
**Cæsar**, p. 36, 37. their sharp Conflict with the Bri-  
tans near the Stoure in Kent, p. 42, 43. the cruel  
Massacre of the Britans upon them, p. 64. they leave  
the Island to succour their declining affairs in other  
parts, p. 104. they come and aid the Britans against  
the Scots and Picts, ibid. they help them to build a  
new Wall, p. 102. instruct them in War, and take  
their

## The Table.

- their last farewell.* ibid.  
**Romanus** nam'd among the four Sons of Hiftion, sprung  
of Japhet, and from him the Romans fabled to be  
derived. P. 5.  
**Rowen** the Daughter of Hengift sent for over by her  
Father, p. 112. She presents King Vortigern with a  
bowl of wine by her Fathers Command, p. 112, 113.  
She is upon the King's demand given him in Mar-  
riage. P. 113.  
**Rudancus** King of Cambria subdued in fight, and slain  
by Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 21.  
**Rudhuddibras** succeeds his Father Leil, and founds  
Caerkeint or Canterbury with several other places.  
p. 16.  
**Runno** the Son of Peredure not immediate Successor.  
p. 28.
- 

## S.

- S**abra thrown into the River (thence call'd Sabrina)  
with her Mother Estrildis by Guendolen. p. 15.  
**Samoths** the first King that History or Fable mentions  
to have peopled this Island. p. 4.  
**Samulius** recorded among the ancient British Kings.  
p. 28.  
**Saron** the second King nam'd among the Successors of  
Samoths. p. 4.  
**Saxons** harraß the South Coast of Britain, say Nectari-  
dus and Bulcobandes, p. 91. Saxons and Picts, see  
Picts.  
**Saxons** invited into Britain by Vortigern, and the Bri-  
tans against the Scots and Picts, p. 109, 110. their  
Original, p. 110. they arrive under the leading of Hen-

## The Table.

- Hengist and Horsa. p. 111. *they beat the Scots and Picts near Stamford.* p. 112. *fresh Forces sent them over, and their bounds enlarged.* p. 112. 113. *they making league with the Scots and Picts, wast the land without resistance, ibid. beaten by Guor-timer in four Battels, and driven into Thanet.* p. 115. *they return most of them, into their own Coun-try.* p. 117. *the rest notably defeated by Ambrosius Aurelianus and the Britans.* p. 118.
- Scots, Picts, and Attacots harraß the South Coast of Britain, p. 91. *overcome by Maximus,* p. 93. Scots *possess Ireland first, and named it Scotia,* p. 94. Scots and Picts *beaten by the Romans, sent to the supply of the Britans,* p. 101. *they make spoil and havock with little or no apposition.* p. 103.
- Sebbi *having reign'd over the East-Saxons 30 years, takes on him the habit of a Monk.* p. 163.
- Sebert the Son of Sleda, *reigns over the East-Saxons by permission of Ethelbert.* p. 142.
- Segonax, *one of the four petty Kings in Britain, that assaulted Cæsar's Camp.* p. 46.
- Sejus Saturninus *commands the Roman Navy in Bri-tain.* p. 78.
- Selred the Son of Sigebert the Good, *succeeds Offa in the East-Saxon Kingdom, and comes to a violent end.* p. 174.
- Septimius Severus the Roman Emperour, *arrives in person with an Army in this Island,* p. 81. 82. *his ill success against the Caledonians,* p. 82. *never-theless goes on and brings them to terms of peace,* p. 83. *builds a Wall across the Island, from Sea to sea, ibid. they taking Arms again, he sends his son Antoninus against them,* p. 84. *he dies at York, 'tis thought of grief.* ibid.

## The Table.

- Severus sent over Deputy into this Island by the Empe-  
rour Valentinian. p. 91.
- Sexburga the Wife of Kenwalk driven out by the No-  
bles, disdaining female Government. p. 163.
- Sexted and Seward re-establish Heathenism in East-  
Saxony, after the Death of their Father Sebert, p.  
145. in a fight against the Britans they perish with  
their whole Army. p. 146.
- Sigeward and Senfred succeed their Father Sebbi in the  
East-Saxon Kingdom. p. 174.
- Sigebert succeeds his Brother Eorpwald in the King-  
dom of the East-Angles, p. 156. he founds a School  
or Colledge, and betakes himself to a Monastical  
life, p. 156. being forc'd into the field against Pen-  
da, he is slain with his Kinsman Egric. p. 157.
- Sigebert surnamed the Small, succeeds his Father Se-  
ward King of the East-Saxons, p. 159. his suc-  
cessour Sigebert the 2d. is perswaded by Oswi to  
imbrace Christianity, ibid. is murdered by the Con-  
spiracy of two Brethren, ibid. his Death denounc'd  
by the Bishop for eating with an excommunicate per-  
son, p. 160. Sigebert the Kinsman of Cuthred  
succeeds him in the West-Saxon Kingdom. p. 175.
- Siger the son of Sigebert the Small, and Sebbi the  
son of Seward succeed in the government of the  
East-Saxons after Swithelms decease. p. 162.
- Silures a people of Britain chuse Caractacus for their  
Leader against the Romans, p. 56. they continue  
the War after Caractacus was taken, against Osto-  
rius and others. p. 59. 60. 61.
- Simon Zelotes, by some said to have preacht the  
Christian Faith in this Island. p. 80.
- Sisilius succeeds Jago. p. 21.
- Silius the son of Guitheline succeeds his Mother  
Martia,

## The Table.

- Martia, p. 25. *another of that name reckon'd in the number of the ancient Brittiſh Kings.* p. 28.
- Siward Earl of Northumberland ſent by Hardecnute together with Leofric againſt the people of Worceſter, p. 277. 278. *he and Leofric raiſe Forces for King Edward againſt Earl Godwin, p. 285. he makes an expedition into Scotland, vanquiſhes Macbeth, and placeth in his ſtead Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King, p. 290. 291. he dies at York in an armed poſture.* p. 291.
- Sleda erects the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons, p. 121.
- South-Saxon Kingdom by whom erected, p. 119.
- South-Saxons upon what occaſion converted to the Chriſtian Faith. p. 164.
- Staterius King of Albany, is defeated and ſlain in fight by Dunwallo Mulmarius. p. 21.
- Stilicho repreſſes the invading Scots and Picts. p. 93.
- Stuff and Withgar the Nephews of Kerdic bring him new levies, p. 120. *they inherit what he won in the Iſle of Wight.* p. 125.
- Suetonius Paulinus Lieutenant in Britain, attacks the Iſle of Mona or Angleſey. p. 61.
- Suidhelm ſucceeds Sigebert in the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons, p. 61. *he is baptiz'd by Kedda.* ibid.
- Swane in revenge of his Siſters Death makes great de-vaſtations in the Weſt of England, p. 250. *he carries all before him as far as London, but is there repell'd, p. 257. is ſtil'd King of England, ibid. he ſickens and dies.* p. 258.
- Swane the Son of Earl Godwin treacherouſly murders his Kiſnman Beorn, p. 282. *his peace wrought with the King by Aldred Biſhop of Worceſter, ibid. toucht in Conſcience for the ſlaughter of Beorn,*

## The Table.

- he goes barefoot to Rome, and returning home dies in Lycia.* p. 289.  
*Swithred the last King of the East-Saxon Kingdom, driven out by Ecbert the West-Saxon* p. 174. 187.
- 

## T.

- T** *Aximagus a petty King anciently in Britain, one of the four Kings that assaulted Caesar's Camp.* p. 46.  
*Tenuantius one of the Sons of Lud hath Cornwall allotted him, p. 28. made King after the Death of Cassibelan.* p. 50.  
*Tendric a Warlike King of Britain, said to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage, p. 134. to have taken up Arms again in aid of his son Mouric.* ibid.  
*Theobale the Brother of King Ethelfrid, slain at Degastan.* p. 141.  
*Theodore a Monk of Tarsus ordain'd Bishop of Canterbury by P. Vitalian, p. 163. by his means the Liberal Arts, and the Greek and Latin Tongues flourish among the Saxons.* ibid.  
*Theodosius sent over by the Emperour Valentinian, enters London victoriously, p. 91. sends for Civilis and Dulcitius, p. 92. punishes Valentinus a Pannonian, conspiring against him, ibid. he returns with applause to Valentinian.* p. 92. 93.  
*Theodosius the Son of the former prefer'd to the Empire, p. 93. overcomes and slays Maximus, usurping the Empire.* p. 93.  
*Thurfert and divers other Danish Lords submit to King Edward the Elder.* p. 220.  
**Titulus**

## The Table.

- Titulus** *succeeds his Father Uffa in the Kingdom of the East-Angles.* p. 121.
- Togodumnus** *the second son of Cunobeline succeeds in the Kingdom, p. 51. is overthrown by Aulus Plautius, p. 52. slain in Battel.* p. 53.
- Tosti** *the son of Godwin made Earl of Northumberland in the room of Siward, p. 291. he swears Brotherhood with Malcolm King of Scotland, p. 293. goes to Rome with Aldred Bishop of York, ibid. the Northumbrians rise against him and expel him, p. 294. 295. a story of great outrage and cruelty committed by him at Hereford, p. 295. making War against his Brother King Harold, he is driven out of the Country by Edwin and Morcar, p. 300. joining with Harold Harfager King of Norway against his Brother, he is slain together with Harfager in the Battel.* p. 302.
- Trebellius Maximus** *sent into Britain in the room of Petronius Turpilianus.* p. 68.
- Trimobantes** *fall off from Cassibelan, and submit to Cæsar, and recommend Mandubratius to his protection.* p. 45. 46.
- Turkil** *a Danish Earl assaults Canterbury, but is bought off, p. 253. he swears Allegiance to King Ethelred, that under that pretence he might stay and give intelligence to Swane, p. 256. he leaves the English again and joins with Canute, p. 260. his greatness suspected by Canute, he is banisht the Realm. p. 269.*
- Turquetill** *a Danish Leader, submitting to King Edward, obtains leave of him to go and try his Fortune in France.* p. 219.

Valentinian

# The Table.

V.

- V** Alentinian the Emperour sends over several Deputies successively into this Island. p. 91.
- Vectius Bolanus sent into Britain in the room of Trebellius Maximus. p. 68.
- Vellocatus, see Venutius and Carismandua.
- Venutius a King of the Brigantes deserted by his Wife Carismandua, who marries his Squire Vellocatus, p. 60. he rights himself against her by Arms, *ibid.* makes War successfully against those taking part with his Wife. p. 60. 61.
- Verannius succeeds A. Didius in the Brittish Wars. p. 61.
- Vertue ever highly rewarded by the ancient Romans. p. 55.
- Vespasian valiantly fighting under Plantius against the Britans is rescued from danger by his Son Titus. p. 55. for his eminent services here he receives triumphal Ornaments at Rome. p. 55.
- Uffa erects the Kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 121. from him his successors call'd Uffings. p. 121.
- Victorinus a Moor, appeaseth a Commotion in Britain, by slaying a Governour of his own recommending. p. 85.
- Victorinus of Tolosa made Prefect of this Island. p. 94.
- Victred the Son of Ecbert obtaining the Kingdom of Kent, settles all things in peace, p. 166. after 34 years Reign he deceaseth. p. 170.
- Widen slays her Son Ferrex in revenge of her other Son Porrex. p. 21.
- Vigenius



## The Table.

- Vigenius *and* Peredure, expelling their Brother Eledure, share the Kingdom between them. p. 27.
- Virius Lupus hath the North part of the Government assign'd him by Severus the Emperour. p. 81.
- Ulfketel Duke of the East-Angles sets upon the Danes with great valour, p. 250. his Army defeated through the subtlety of a Danish servant, p. 254. he is slain with several other Dukes at the fatal Battel of Assandune. p. 264.
- Ulpius Marcellus sent Lieutenant into Britain by Commodus, ends the War by his Valour and Prudence. p. 8.
- Vortipor reigns in Demetia, or South-Wales. p. 132.
- Vortigern's Character, p. 109. he is advis'd by his Council to invite in the Saxons against the Scots and Picts, *ibid.* he bestows upon Hengist and the Saxons, the Isle of Thanet, p. 112. then all Kent, upon a marriage with Rowen Hengist's Daughter, p. 113. condemn'd in a Synod for incest with his Daughter, he retires to a Castle in Radnorshire, built for the purpose, p. 115. his Son Guortimer dead here resumes the Government, p. 116. is drawn into a snare by Hengist, p. 117. retiring again is burnt in his Tower. p. 117.
- Urianus, reckon'd in the number of ancient Brittainish Kings. p. 28.
- Utherpendragon thought to be the same with Natanleod. p. 120.
- Uthred submits himself with the Northumbrians to Swane, p. 257. to Canute, p. 261. his Victory over Malcolm King of Scots, p. 262. 269. he is slain by Turebrand a Danish Lord at Canutes either Command or connivence. p. 261.

West-Saxon

# The Table

W.

**W**est-Saxon Kingdom by whom erected, p. 121.  
West-Saxons, and their Kings converted to  
the Christian Faith by Berinus. p. 155.

Wibba succeeds Crida in the Mercian Kingdom.  
p. 134.

Willbrod a Priest goes over with 12 others to preach  
the Gospel in Germany, p. 168. he is countenanc'd  
by Pepin Chief Regent of the Franks, and made  
first Bishop of that Nation. p. 168. 169.

Wilfrid Bishop of the Northumbrians depriv'd by  
Ecfrid of his Bishoprick, wanders as far as Rome,  
p. 164. returning plants the Gospel in the Isle of  
Wight, and other places assign'd him, p. 164. 165.  
hath the fourth part of that Island given him by  
Kedwalla, he bestows it on Bertwin a Priest, his  
sisters Son. ibid.

William Duke of Normandy honourably entertain'd  
by King Edward, and richly dismiss'd, p. 287. he  
betroths his daughter to Harold, and receives his  
Oath to assist him to the Crown of England, p. 295.  
296. sending after King Edwards Death to de-  
mand performance of his promise, is put off with a  
slight answer, p. 300. 301. he lands with an Army  
at Hastings, p. 301. overthrows Harold, who with  
his two Brothers is slain in Battle, p. 305. he is  
Crown'd at Westminster by Aldred Archbishop of  
York. ibid.

Wipped a Saxon Earl slain at a place call'd Wip-  
peds fleot, which thence took denomination,  
p. 116.

Withgar, see Stuff.

Withgarburgh

## The Table.

*Withgarburgh in the Isle of Wight so call'd from being the burial-place of Withgar.* p. 125.

*Withlaf the successor of Ludiken, being vanquish'd by Ecbert, all Mercia becomes tributary to him.*

p. 187.

*Wulfer the Son of Penda set up by the Mercian Nobles in the room of his Brother Oswi, p. 161. said to have been taken Prisoner by Kenwalk the West-Saxon, p. 162. he takes and wasts the Isle of Wight, but causeth the Inhabitants to be baptized, ibid. gives the Island to Ethelwald King of South-Saxons, ibid. sends Jeruvianus to recover the East-Saxons, fallen off the second time from Christianity, ibid. Lindsey taken from him by Ecfrið of Northumberland, p. 163. his Death accompany'd with the stain of Simonie.*

p. 164.

*Wulfheard King Ethelwolf's Chief Captain, drives back the Danes at Southampton with great slaughter, p. 192. he dies the same year, as it is thought of Age.*

ibid.

*Wulktul Earl of Ely put to flight with his whole Army by the Danes.*

p. 201.

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## I.

**Y***Mner King of Loegria, with others slain in Battel by Dunwallo Mulmutius.*

p. 21.

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## FINIS.

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# ERRATA.

**P**age 2. l. 16. for Britains read Britans, p. 6. l. 18. for by the same re-  
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